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SOME FRONTIER WORDS AND PHRASES¹

WORDS, ACCENTS, AND PRONUNCIATIONS used by pioneers whose ancestors talked and wrote the old Yankee version of the English language in the New England hills and along the narrow winding streams of the East were undoubtedly modified in the West. There the settlers met with and adjusted themselves to new living and working conditions, material and otherwise, met and associated with settlers from many sections of the Old and New Worlds, and often lived in communities that lacked schools and churches. I say the old New England English, for one may now travel for a week through Yankeeland without hearing a half-dozen people speak the language as their grandparents did back in the sixties of the last century. But I shall not attempt here to explain the how or why of that. Many words and phrases and practically all the accent or dialect pronunciations have passed into oblivion. But in the late sixties and the seventies they were still commonly used by New Englanders, New Yorkers, and other native Americans who settled in southern Minnesota. A few words still have a place in the vocabularies of the people, and some of these words are still pronounced in the old way, as "crick" for

¹ Mr. Davis is the author of a manuscript volume of reminiscences in which he tells of his life and observations in southern Minnesota. The present article constitutes one section of this manuscript. Another, on frontier medical and sanitary practices, will be published in a future issue of this magazine. His narrative includes vivid accounts of a covered-wagon journey from Wisconsin to Minnesota in 1866, of living conditions on a prairie claim, of frontier amusements, and of other aspects of Minnesota pioneer life. *Ed.*

"creek," "ant" for "aunt," "laff" for "laugh," and the like.

Among the natives—the Yankees and near Yankees—many very expressive words and phrases were used in common conversation. These were well understood by the natives themselves, but their purport was often lost, at first, on the foreigners, many of whom never came to understand them all. If a speaker wished to convey the idea that another person was naturally dull, he called him a "numbskull"; if he was bright enough naturally, but had been easily fooled by someone, he was a "chump." If the speaker harbored more or less ill will against another, the latter "didn't know enough to carry guts to a bear," he "didn't know as much as a sore foot," he was a "saphead," he "didn't have the gumption of a louse," he "hadn't as much sense as a farrow cow," he was a "blockhead," a "stick-in-the-mud," a "reg'lar toby's [*donkey's*] hind leg," "no great scratch," or maybe a "mullet head." It might also have been said that he "hasn't got sense enough to last 'im over night," or that he "wasn't fit fer a taller drag."

A stingy person was "tight as the bark to a tree," an "old miser," or a "skinflint." A woman would refer to another whom she did not like or about whom she had heard derogatory stories as a "hussy" or a "hen hussy." If the reference was to a man, he might be called an "old blatherskite," a "scallawag," a "hen granny," or some other scorching epithet. Whichever expression was used would usually be preceded by "darn" or an equally descriptive adjective.

Some common expressions carried their meanings more or less clearly and openly, notwithstanding idiomatic obscurity in the form, as "scarce as hens' teeth." "The jumping off place" was used to describe a place about as far west as the women wanted to go. The "bat's end o' the world," "let the cat out o' the bag," "he'll stick like a dog to a root," "run Big Fraid, Little Fraid's after ye,"

"he's plannin' some scullduggery," "she's made 'er bed an' now she's got tuh lay in it," "out o' the fryin' pan intuh the fire," "full o' gimp an' gumption," "ye're as much mistaken as if ye'd burnt yer shirt," "as useless as a last year's bird's nest," "he got comeup-with," "I'll knock 'im intuh the middle o' next week," "don't open yer yawp," "hitting two birds with one stone," "jealous pated," "go tuh grass," "go tuh pot an' see the kittle bile," "birds of a feather flock together," "looks like he's been drawn through a knothole," "he makes a mountain out of a molehill," "stay on yer own side o' the dish," "give 'im an E an' he'll take an Ell," "root hog 'er die," "you've got tuh either fish 'er cut bait," "the more haste the less speed," "between the devil an' the deep sea," "give the devil his due," "ye might as well eat the devil as drink his broth," "smart as a whip," and "love'll go where it's sent" were sayings frequently used by the pioneers.

How wonderfully expressive were the following: "It smells strong enough to knock an ox down," "ye're a dreadful knowin' critter," "now I'm in a peck o' half bushels," "I'll bust yer biler," "going at a hen canter," "stands to reason," "the pesky thing is all out o' kilter," "like a thousan' o' brick," "tough as a biled owl," "more than ye c'n shake a stick at," "licketty split," "till ye're blue in the face," "crazy as a bedbug," "called him everything he could lay his tongue to," "right hand runnin'," "it ain't what it's cracked up tuh be," "can't git head nor tail to it," "as cunnin' as a red pig a runnin'," "it's as easy as fallin' off a log," "if ye don't like it ye c'n lump it," "blind as a bat," "full of the old Harry," "I'll make 'im scratch gravel," "I wish he was in hell with his back broke," "hell-bent fer 'lection," "let 'er rip," and "skeepaddle." If a neighbor needed help in case of sickness or trouble, the settlers said that "we'll all clap to and help 'im out." "I can't guttle it down" or "I can't muckle it" were expressions for "I can't eat it." "I want tuh know" expressed

wonder or incredulity. If two men wanted to settle a mutual running account without bothering to look up books or figures they would "jump accounts"—that is, call it even.

And what modern expressions are capable of more carrying power than these: "as big as all out doors and part in the house," "like all possessed," "as near as ye c'n put yer eye out," "that can't hold a candle tuh mine," "quick as a cat ever licked 'er ear," "that's no allkillin' matter," "that's a whopper [*a big lie*]," "he'll turn up missin'," "don't buy a pig in a poke" and "mind yer p's an' q's"? Uncouth? Yes, perhaps. But what depths of possible meaning these expressions imply and what a wide range of application they have!

The following did very well for terse and meaningful character descriptions: "narrer contracted," "he ain't got no backbone," "he thinks he's the biggest toad in the puddle," "crooked as a ram's horn," "he c'n lie faster than a horse c'n trot," "he thinks he's a little god and a half," "he's got enough brass in his face tuh make a ten-pail kettle," "they're the offscourin's o' the earth," "as full of the devil as an egg is full o' meat," "he's a reg'lar bigbug," "thinks he's some punkins," "he's a wolf in sheep's clothing," "dumbhead," "old rip," "terror tuh snakes," "back-biter," "half baked," and "he don't know enough tuh ache."

And here are more idioms and often-used words and phrases that added rugged richness to the ordinary conversation of the pioneers: "Homely as a hedge fence," "like all git out," "one boy is half a man, two boys no man at all," "cutting up didoes," "bugbear," "boogaboo," "brat," "three jerks of a cat's tail," "I like the cut of his jib," "it ain't tuh be sneezed at," "strain at a gnat an' swaller a saw-mill," "crack o' doom," "dark as a nigger's pocket," "busy as a bee in a tar bucket," "it rained pitchforks," "beller

like a bay steer," "if wishers had horses beggars might ride," "sure as ye're a foot high," "hustle yer boots," "he'll go up like a rocket an' come down like a stick," "run like a heeter," "afoot an' alone," "ye can't make a whistle out of a pig's tail," "every which way," "unbeknown," "by good rights," "the hull kit an' caboodle of 'em," "all cluttered up," "don't git on yer ear," "don't git yer dander up," and "the hull shootin' match."

If one did a thing with more than ordinary energy, it was said that he went at it with "hammer an' tongs"; he would "spruce up" when getting ready to go to a party or to go courting; he was "off the first four miles" if he was liable to be absent when needed; he was said to "feel his oats" if he thought too much of himself; and when he began to feel at home in a place, he was said to be "wonted." One often spoke of a boy as a "little bugger," though the expression "stiff-necked old bugger" also was common. To "go snucks" was to go into partnership. To "hoof it" was to walk, but if one walked a considerable distance and someone asked how he came, he would say that he "rode shank's mare." To be "tight" was to be drunk. One spoke of a "hunk" of bread or cake. A "little cutup" was a lively child, and a "flutterbudget" was a lively or nervous person. "They're in cahoots" was said of people who were thought to be scheming to do something disliked by the speaker. "Got a hen on" was said of a person planning something he did not yet wish to discuss or reveal. If a person died it was reported that he had "kicked the bucket." If a person entered or left a house unceremoniously he "boused" in or out. "Scram" has replaced the old word "git" for "get out" or "go away." Here is a mother's advice to her grown boys—perhaps hard to take, but well meant: "Don't tie yer love tuh any girl's apern strings till ye know ye c'n git 'er." But if a woman wanted her daughter to "keep company" with John Doe, she said:

"Why don't ye set yer cap fer Johnny, he'd make a good pervider."

The following expressions were often used as expletives by those who for some reason did not want to swear: "the devil an' Tom Walker," "gosh all fishhooks" "so help me jumping John Rogers," "jumping Aunt Hannah," "Land o' Goshen," and "by cracky." "In all my born days" and "for land sakes alive" were used chiefly by women for emphasis, and "not by a jugful," "what in Sam Hill" or "what the Sam Hill," and "Zounds an' garters," by men.

If an undesirable person or family left the neighborhood, their departure was described as "good riddance tuh bad rubbish." It was often said that there was a "nigger in the wood pile" or "the devil's in 'im as big as a wood-chuck," or "she'll do it if the devil stands tuh the door." "All around Robin Hood's barn" was expressive as covering a good deal more territory than was necessary or truthful.

What these words and idiomatic expressions lacked in grace and delicacy was made up for in stark expressiveness. The pioneers who used them in everyday conversation did so very often and on many diverse occasions, giving them the shades of meaning demanded by the circumstances.

LEROY G. DAVIS

SLEEPY EYE, MINNESOTA

HENRY M. NICHOLS AND FRONTIER MINNESOTA

AS I READ THE RECORD of Henry M. Nichols for the years from 1853 to 1860, written in his firm hand in diaries, letters, and manuscript sermons and addresses, and printed in the public press, I am impressed by the growing power and widening influence of the man.¹ From the early years in Stillwater, through the impassioned speeches of public reform which in the end brought about the burning of Plymouth Church in Minneapolis, to the final catastrophe of his tragic drowning in Lake Calhoun, his story throws light on a fascinating period of life in Minnesota.

Nichols began his work as "stated supply" of the First Presbyterian Church of Stillwater on September 30, 1853.² In November he wrote:

We have never found kinder people, or more genial social dispositions, and never found a people who literally compelled us to "take them into our hearts" as these. There is more than the old Methodist warm-heartedness there is *substantiality* about it, that makes it stay put. The people raise us \$300 and the Home Miss. Soc. pay \$300. The people paid the first quarterly installment within a week and poured in the provisions and necessary housekeeping articles upon us with a hearty relish. We cannot do otherwise than love them and thank the Lord that the lines have fallen to us in such pleasant places. . . . The church is a New School Presbyterian connected with the Minnesota Presbytery, but composed of those who heretofore have been New & Old School Pres[byterian] — Cong[regational] — Lutherans — Cumb[erland] Pres. — Ref[ormed] Pres. — & Asso[ciate] Pres. I still retain my connection with the Cong. Asso. but am supported here by the Am[erican] Home Miss. Soc. instead of the West[ern] Home Miss. Assoc.

¹ An account of "Henry Martyn Nichols and the Northampton Colony" in 1852-53 appears *ante*, 129-147. Ed.

² The Reverend J. C. Whitney was the first minister of this church, acting as stated supply from 1849 to 1853, when he went to the First Presbyterian Church of Minneapolis. Nichols was the second minister, and the first to be installed.

A year later he wrote: "The people are doing all for us that we could wish and expect; almost every week furnishes some new tie to bind us to them."³ But the "far-off land of the setting sun," as my grandmother had called it, was still not quite home in one respect—it still celebrated Thanksgiving in December.⁴ There is more than a touch of homesickness in the letter which my grandfather wrote on December 22, 1854:

Yesterday was our Thanksgiving, a very quiet time with us. Service in the morning, and dinner at a friend's two miles out of town. Nothing like our old New England Thanksgivings. We thought of you all, but not as much as we did a few weeks ago at the time of the Mass[achusetts] Thanksgiving. We pictured then the family gathering, and the vacant places for the Minnesota children, and we began to feel—well, let that go. . . . We had even proposed to celebrate the day ourselves, in memory of the friends at home and thought of having a splendid dinner and sitting down to it, in grand state . . . but then, we thought the visions of the circle at Belchertown, and the dinner there at the same hour, would bring up too many choking feelings, & mingle too many tears with the food, so we just gave it up, and behaved ourselves very soberly, not however, without some very ardent wishes when evening came, that we might run in to the little red house, a few minutes. There it is, soft around the eyes again, let us turn over the leaf.

The new leaf referred to his approaching installation:

Before you receive this letter you will probably have noticed in some of the papers I have sent, a notice of the Installation of Rev. H. M. Nichols as Pastor of the church in this place. . . . It will take place the 4th of next month. So I am to be a settled minister. How long I shall remain here I cannot tell, no longer probably for being settled, but it is better to be a Pastor than a stated supply.

³One of these ties was a cow. "A few days since," Nichols wrote in a letter of June 1, 1855, "a couple of boys came driving a cow up to my house, and gave me a letter from their Father, in which was 'Bro. N. accept this cow as a free gift from the Lord. I cannot see three or four cows in my yard, while my Pastor has none. I have an investment of a cow in the House of worship, and now I want one in the Minister who preaches in that house.' Nothing in the shape of a cow here, can be bought for less than 40 dols."

⁴The territory observed Thanksgiving Day about December 21, in connection with Pilgrims' or Forefathers' Day, though in 1856 it was celebrated on November 20, and in 1857, as early as December 10.

On the afternoon of January 4, 1855, Nichols became connected with the presbytery. "Had a long discussion," he wrote, "in the midst of which Capt. [William] Holcomb[e] & myself had some personal explanation." On the following day they continued their discussion, with the result that "Capt H. found he must allow to others, the privilege demanded for himself, viz. *Liberty*."⁵ On the evening of January 4 Nichols was installed. As reported in the *St. Croix Union* of Stillwater for January 9:

The introductory services were by Rev. G. H. Pond of Oak Grove, and Revs. J. S. Webber and A. C. Pennock, of this city. Sermon by Rev. R. Hall, of Point Douglass. Installing Prayer by Rev. C. Seccomb, of Saint Anthony. Charge to the Pastor by Rev. J. C. Whitney, of Minneapolis. Charge to the People by Rev. E. D. Neill, of St. Paul. Benediction by the Pastor.⁶

Life in Stillwater, as recorded in my grandfather's diaries of his first years there, was marked off by the freezing over of Lake St. Croix in the fall, when no more mail could come in by water, and by the breaking up of the ice in the spring and the coming of the first boat. He mentioned each boat by name on the day of its arrival. "'War Eagle' came in last night, about 12 oclock," he wrote on April 12, 1854, "but the whistle did not wake me." It was an exciting day when the "Excelsior" and the "Greek Slave" came in at the same time. Once, when the "Navigator" and the "Golden Era" both came in on Saturday night, the Sunday morning congregation was affected! Always, when he could, my grandfather traveled to St. Paul by water, for the journey by stage was very rough.

Nichols threw himself wholeheartedly into any movement which might improve community and state. He worked

⁵ On August 25, 1854, Nichols wrote in his diary: "Capt. Holcomb[e] is cool, thinks I am not enough a Calvinist."

⁶ Nichols had himself preached the afternoon sermon when Seccombe was installed as pastor of the First Congregational Church of St. Anthony on July 30, 1854; and at the installation of Whitney in Minneapolis on January 19, 1854, he had given the charge to the pastor. This was the first installation of a minister in Minneapolis.

not only for better churches, but for better schools. His first community work in Stillwater was an attempt to create an academy. As chairman of a committee to produce a plan for the "Stillwater Academy," and later as one of the seven trustees, he spent much time getting a room furnished and a teacher engaged. Because the teacher failed to appear, the academy never materialized.⁷ But Nichols loyally stood behind the efforts of the Baptist minister, the Reverend J. S. Webber, to start a school in the fall, and when Washington Seminary, "named after the county," was launched with a gala evening of dedicatory exercises, Nichols delivered an address on "The Pedagogue versus the Demagogue," in what the *St. Croix Union* of November 25, 1854, called his "usual happy manner."⁸ It is interesting to discover from his outline notes of the address that he sounded a warning in regard to the ignorance of the foreign-born population of the country. Demagogues in political parties, out for the foreign vote, were making mere shuttlecocks of the multitude. "The constant influx of such a vast foreign population," he said, "does much to weaken the strength & stability of our institutions. . . . If ever, our country founders, and our national ship goes down, it will be because demagogues triumph, through popular ignorance. . . . Educate the nation, and you have saved it."

In the third term the seminary died, however, and the principal moved away. Two years later, in August, 1856, after Nichols' old schoolmate of Wilbraham Academy, the Reverend Joseph A. Russell, had gone to Stillwater as rector of the local Episcopal church, and had opened a select

⁷ Diary, March 21, 24, 1854. An elaborate letterhead, similar to that of the Baldwin School of St. Paul, dated May 25, 1854, reveals that tuition was to have been five dollars for "English Branches" and six for languages; that Hiram Hayes, a graduate of Bowdoin College, had been elected principal; and that plans had been made for beginning a summer term on May 28. Hayes "threw up his engagement" in a letter received by Nichols on May 24.

⁸ In his diary entry for November 21, Nichols describes the dedication as "a pleasant happy time."

school, Nichols tried to organize the "St. Croix Seminary," as an undenominational enterprise of local importance. Russell was to be the principal, and two jury rooms in the courthouse were to be used as classrooms. The comment in his diary is the simple "did not succeed," but an elaborate appeal to the citizens of Stillwater, a manuscript which has furnished me with much information, shows that a great deal had been accomplished.⁹

Another public service concerned a Stillwater lyceum. On December 13, 1854, a meeting was held at the Minnesota House which was "eloquently addressed by Rev. H. M. Nichols and others," and "on motion of Rev. H. M. Nichols, it was unanimously agreed to take measures to organize a Lyceum." He served on the committee which drafted a constitution for its government, and regularly attended its meetings.¹⁰ The lectures, some very good and some "small affairs," were on all kinds of subjects. He noted them down in his diary, and frequently praised or censured the speaker's delivery.

Of special interest today, as examples of bygone manners and customs, are the ladies' "Portfolios" of the lyceum course, always read by one of the women. On January 10, 1855, after a lecture by a Catholic priest, my grandmother read the "Portfolio," and I find, from her husband's diary, that she "acquitted her self with grace and dignity." Some of these portfolios are before me now, in my grandmother's delicate handwriting, excellent examples of mid-century style and badinage. I like the one which points out that a writer for the "Portfolio" must be witty and sparkling,

⁹ The seminary was to have opened on October 13, 1856. Although it did not come into being, Nichols still labored for the public schools, serving on the board of trustees, of which he was president in 1858. He also was chosen one of the trustees of the College of St. Paul. Edward D. Neill to Nichols, February 15, 1856.

¹⁰ *St. Croix Union* (Stillwater), December 19, 1854. Nichols also worked to reorganize the lyceum and he presented before it his lecture on "Life," given a year earlier before the Minneapolis Lyceum. See his diary, December 31, 1855, January 4, 7, 1856.

that "A Lady must be like a dew-drop in the sunlight, like the sun-spangles on the Lake, like the ripple of the rill, like the foam of the cataract, like painted clouds, like the rainbow, like flashing icicles, like precious stones, like bright stars, like oranges, like ripe peaches, like anything that is bright, and pretty, and enchanting." "Now Ladies," my grandmother went on,

I have none of the qualifications demanded for a writer to your paper. I am not witty, nor sparkling, nor brilliant, nor enchanting.

Ah, No! not enchanting, I am common-place, I am not beautiful, I am not very youthful, I have passed the sunny side of thirty. . . . I never dieted on angels smiles, or star-rays, or coquetted with the moonbeams, or lisped to the zephyrs, or sighed over love tales, or wept over yellow novels.

And furthermore I never tried but once to ride Pegasus, and then I was thrown. . . . Oliver Wendell Holmes says Pegasus will not trot well under a side saddle. He is the man who never cares to write as funny as he can—did he mean to be very funny when he wrote that?

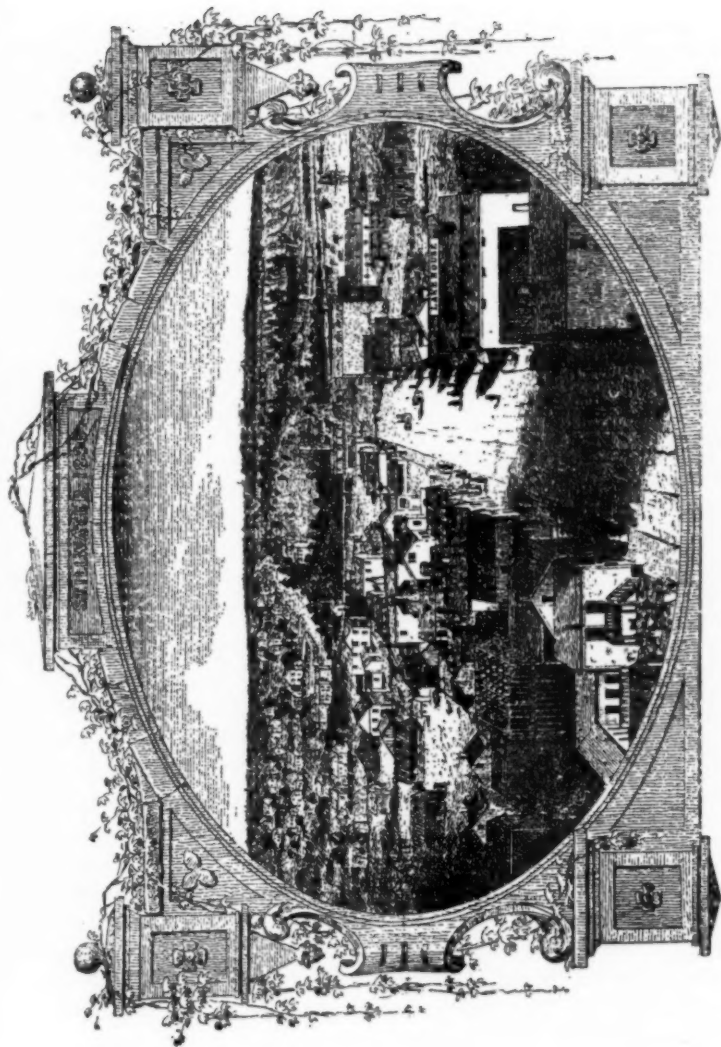
Even Nichols contributed to the ladies "Portfolio," writing the first two chapters of the "Book of the Chronicles of Stillwater," which begins:

Now it came to pass in process of time, when John whose surname was Tyler ruled over the land, there spake a man of the tribe of Mac, unto his fellows, saying, Behold we be increased in numbers and this place is becoming too strait for us. Let one of our number depart and seek an inheritance for us, and spy out some pleasant part of our land. . . .

Then spake John whose surname was Mac-Kusick, unto his brethren and kinsfolk, saying, behold we have heard with our ears, and the fame thereof has come even to our midst, that towards the setting of the sun there lieth at the distance of many days' journey, a land which is fair to look upon, and of great value—a land flowing with milk and honey. Now therefore if it seemeth good unto you, I will depart and seek that land, and spy it out and send you word thereof.

Through the two chapters run the names and deeds of the settlers, down to the coming of the men who were to sell the public lands:

And these, were men of military renown Abram called also the Major, to keep a faithful record of all that was done, and Nathaniel called the Colonel to be the receiver of moneys. . . .



STILLWATER IN 1856
[A letterhead in the Nichols Papers, July, 1859.]

Behold the rest of the history of Stillwater and all its notable matters, its growth, its greatness, and its high renown, is it not all written in the hearts of the early settlers?

During his Stillwater years Nichols gave many addresses which stirred various kinds of public interest in the town. His out-of-door Fourth of July oration in 1854 was a ringing battle cry for Democracy to put a stop to the encroachments of slavery. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was but a few weeks old. "This day," the speaker said, "we have occasion to rejoice with trembling. Fair freedom has received a wound. And on this very hour, in many places in our land, the people are holding funeral service, and tolling the bells as they go to the burial." But his message to his "Fellow citizens . . . in this bright valley of the West on the banks of this beautiful lake . . . where . . . the track of the Indians birch canoe has hardly faded from our waters" was no message of defeat:

The spirit of prophecy breathes free on Independence day. Let faith and courage never falter. . . . Throughout this glorious West, let the *mission of Democracy* be full and complete. . . . Then let the shout go up, till the genii of the waters answer, and the sloping banks of Wisconsin give back the sound. Liberty & Union Now & forever One and inseparable.

The demand for this speech was evidently so great that Nichols was asked to have it printed, for he wrote in his diary on July 6: "copied my Oration for publication."

Nichols did not try to keep politics out of his sermons if the time seemed ripe for a protest from the pulpit against the encroachments of slavery. On June 8, 1856, he wrote of his morning sermon, "Some St. Louis men did not relish my reference to Kansas affairs and the assault upon Sumner." Now the Old School Presbyterians of this time did not believe in political references from the pulpit. That very week an Old School church was being organized in Stillwater, and when members of the Old School presbytery were invited to meet in November in my grandfather's church, the Reverend John G. Riheldaffer of St. Paul

preached a sermon on "the wickedness of preaching politics," while Nichols listened.¹¹ When Thanksgiving arrived, on December 10, 1857, and my grandfather preached a Thanksgiving sermon "before the different Protestant churches of the city" in the Second Presbyterian Church (Old School), it is not difficult to see why he recorded in his diary, "Made some mad, & some glad," for he said:

Different sections of the Church of God may wrangle, and waste their strength upon each other, rather than unite against the common foe; a disgrace to the christian name, and a slander on the religion of the Bible. . . .

Political disparadoes may combine to cram Negro Slavery down the throats of the freedom-loving inhabitants of a new Territory. . . . God reigns, and we believe it, the future shall grow brighter before us as we advance. . . . The stain spots on our political purity will all be removed. The black gangrene upon our southern limbs will be entirely healed. *Slavery shall die; its death knell shall come*, because, God reigns.

And the next Sunday evening, in his own church, he gave his preacher's *credo* in no uncertain words. The minister who follows expediency, he said, will not preach on slavery. "It is a delicate matter, and he may give offense, and besides it would look too much like taking sides with political parties; for it would be an unpardonable sin to use the word *politics* in the Pulpit, or to give any intimation that Religion had anything to do with the political relations of men." To Nichols, such an attitude was humiliating. "Out upon such temporizing expediency!" he cried.

Chains and shackles off from the Pulpit! Let there be one place where Truth goes not on crutches! Rather might my body be hung up as a prey to the birds of heaven, than allow my soul to be put in stocks or placed under the dictatorship of any one save the Almighty. And if ever I so far forget the dignity of my station as a Christian Minister, or my duty to God and to man, as to hold back any portion of the principles of Truth, or apologize in their delivery for fear of

¹¹ On the news that an Old School church was to be organized, Nichols commented, "this is a free country." But when "an Old School Colporteur came to help along the aggressive movement," he wrote ironically, "Long live sectarianism." Diary, June 10, 11, 1856.

offending my hearers, I pray God the people may take me out of this Pulpit, and close the doors of this house against me.¹²

Occasionally a sermon preached in his own church had reverberations throughout the town. On the evening of January 9, 1859, he preached an announced sermon on atheism. That night he wrote in his diary: "the Tom Paine club were mostly present, gave them some hard facts, & prayed God to strike them in with power. They were much stirred up." The next day he wrote: "Understand that Infidels are raving to day. think they must send to St Paul, & get Judge Goodrich to come over & reply to the Sunday evening sermon." And on Saturday, January 29, we find these words: "The great Tom Paine festival to night, & by the grace of God, I work here in my study against them."¹³ Other controversial subjects drew large congregations, but his largest evening audiences were composed of young men, when he dedicated a series of lectures to them, both for their own welfare and for the best interests of the growing city of Stillwater. The series of 1856, on such topics as stability of character, self-respect, public spirit, and heroism, brought packed houses, such crowds as he had never seen before, and the young men gave him a present of two hundred dollars in return.

As the sphere of his influence widened, he became more and more in demand in St. Paul, St. Anthony, and Minneapolis for addresses. My grandmother, in a letter of April 15, 1855, gave the reason for this public interest in her husband: "I think Mr N is doing a great good here," she wrote, and she always spoke of him as Mr. N. even to her own family.

He is known here as a great reformer, they send for him far and near to Lecture; The papers say of him "that he is the most talented man in the Territory," "and it is only wanted to be known that he

¹² H. M. Nichols, *The True Thanksgiving, and True Manhood: Two Sermons*, 16, 17, 19, 31, 33 (Stillwater, 1858).

¹³ The idea that Tom Paine should be called an atheist survived almost to the present.

Lectures or preaches and there is a jam." Allowing that some of that is gas, you can get an idea that he is appreciated a little. I can give you the reason. He courts favor from none, he tells them the whole truth without fear or favor, and feeling that he has God and the cause of right on his side fears no one. If he is Lecturing on temperance and knows that the most influential men of a place are there, and they are sure to be if they are runsmellers, it only gives him more energy and he pictures them out in the most vivid colors, then holds them up to the ridicule and contempt of all good citizens, they do not feel very easy I can assure you.

Then she characteristically added: "But enough of this. I write this to you knowing that it will interest you, and it is not egotistical to write it to you."

As an excellent description of Nichols' method as a public speaker, I should like to quote from an article on his Minneapolis Lyceum lecture on "Life."¹⁴

The lecture delivered by the gentleman [*H. M. Nichols*] on Monday evening last elicited universal and high encomiums. The subject of the lecture was "Life," and it was treated in an original and interesting style. The lecture reminded us of the out-door influences of the past few days. Stepping out into the air, the rough wind startles you and for a few moments makes you falter and stagger. But, as if breathing in strength from the pure, fresh air, you gain renewed vigor and push forward with energy, while LIFE dances and leaps through your veins, swells and hardens the chords and the muscles, warming and exciting the material body to action. Thus, when the Lecturer commenced, he rushed right at his subject, startling his hearers out of all ideas of repose, perhaps, for the moment, confusing some minds. But the re-action followed, and each mind was aroused and invigorated, and the whole audience became unusually interested and earnest in following the speaker. Listening to such a lecturer as Mr. Nichols appears to be, an audience will be benefited beyond the instruction drawn from his lecture—the exercising and arousing of the minds of the audience will be productive of good to each one. We have said that the Lecture was "Life." We might have truly added that there was Life in the speaker and Life in his thoughts and their expression, and that these awoke and invigorated Life in the minds of his hearers.

It was an excellent method, but few were aware of the tremendous nervous and physical toll it took from the man.

¹⁴The lecture was delivered on March 12, 1855. The quotation is from the *St. Croix Union* of April 17, 1855.

Many of Nichols' lectures outside Stillwater were considered too radical by parts of his audiences.¹⁵ When he addressed the Y.M.C.A. of St. Paul on January 6, 1857, on "Christian Heroism," he wrote that the members listened attentively, though evidently not all approved of the radicalism of the speaker. Then he added, "Hunkerism probably would never feel quite satisfied, with any thing I might write or say; & St Paul especially is one of the careful conservative places. I should like well the labor of going into St Paul, & starting an Independent, Congregational church. That element is needed there & will come in time." He did not like Hunkers!

Of a similar nature to "Christian Heroism," but certainly more radical, was his lecture on "Individualism or, The Democrat vs. The Autocrat," which he delivered on December 10, 1856, as the opening lecture in the Y.M.C.A. course at St. Anthony. He records that he was both cheered and hissed, and the *Minnesota Republican* of St. Anthony and Minneapolis remarked on the following day, "The bold talk of the lecturer has stirred up something of a muss; though well received by most of the large audience." A week later a whole column was given to the issue. A brief look at this lecture will illuminate the controversy concerning it.

In his address Nichols picked out examples of "men, whom history & poetry, crown as heroes, & hand down to later ages, as the great men of the world. The superficial mind," he said, "will undoubtedly take pleasure in marking the career of these heroes, as the child delights in some grand show. It is grand they say, to see how one man can rise above the mass, & how his eye or hand, can move with a glance or beck, the motley multitudes that wait upon his bidding. An exhibition of this nature is declared sublime."¹⁶

¹⁵ Except when he addressed the Odd Fellows Lodge, of which he became a member upon arriving in Minnesota. See *ante*, p. 134.

¹⁶ Nichols did not agree with Carlyle, either about Mohammed or about anything else. Though he believed in the true meaning of aristoc-

He felt that the history of such men had "been the expansion of the Ego, till its all encompassing folds" had "covered up the race, who may breathe, only as air may be vouchsafed them. . . . It has denied right & Justice to the mass, & centered all power in the hands of an irresponsible few." Nichols, always an ardent democrat, denied that the "nobility of human nature can be found in the exaltation of one above and at the expense of the many." "Each one in this mass," he believed, "must be . . . taught that he is an individual, with rights & immunities, with powers & privileges, sacred & inviolable by the very reason of his humanity."

One might well wonder why such an address should have created antagonisms in the little St. Anthony of 1856, or why the *Republican* in its issue of December 18 called Nichols' ideas "revolutionary."

The speaker was never undignified, sometimes a little grandiloquent—often satirical and sharp—bountiful in historic allusions—and liberal in spirit.

And yet he uttered sentiments radically at war with world-wide abuses—sentiments which are now working like yeast. . . . The Individualism of the Autocrat, which puts down *many*, that it may put up *one*, was mercilessly scored, and the Individualism of the Democrat, which puts up *all*, which would elevate humanity everywhere and always, was duly magnified.

The lack of good taste in a speaker who, in such a lecture course, introduces sentiments which may conflict with those of some of his audience, was debated in the press. The liberal *Republican* sided with Nichols, and rather sarcastically remarked that "tender-hearted people will probably not be hurt" at the next lecture, which was to be presented by James W. Taylor on "The Destiny of the North-West." As for the "illustrations and applications" which, according to the *Republican*, offended some, I can find only one pas-racy, he thought that "The *best* man, ruling & leading by common consent, comes at last to demand as a right, what has only been rendered as a tribute of respect to worth. . . . But when he comes to that, he ceases to be the *best* man." See Nichols' lecture on "Aristocracy."

sage which might have been taken exception to. My grandfather carried his argument over from the field of the state, where he discarded the doctrine of the divine right of kings, to the more dangerous realm of the church, where he refused to accept autocracy of government. He said that Protestants and Catholics alike had attempted ecclesiastical tyranny, at various times, and that he did not believe in persecution for religious beliefs, in the attempt to make all men think alike on religious subjects, and, if they will not do it willingly, "to compel them to it, by whips & thumbscrews, by dungeons and halters, stakes & faggots." He had no liking for heresy hunters, "whether the dicta issued from the halls of the Vatican, or from councils of Lawn sleeved Bishops, or solemn assemblies of Puritan divines." He believed in liberty of individual conscience, in the decrease of central power in both church and state government, in the "declaration, that became the watchword of American Democracy, 'A church without a Bishop, a State without a King,'" ¹⁷ There was the rub! And in understanding Nichols' position when he went to Minneapolis in 1859, it is quite necessary to keep this part of his 1856 address in St. Anthony in mind.

In the same spirit he attacked the tyranny of human slavery, and was, I think, the most ardent abolitionist I have ever read. He gave several antislavery addresses in the twin towns at the falls, but his finest effort was that of November 22, 1858, in St. Anthony, repeated the next evening in Minneapolis, an address entitled, "Glimpses at Duty for Anti-Slavery Men." There was no disagreement here. "However much you may disagree upon other topics," he cried, "I take it for granted you are every one of you, here to night, Anti-Slavery to the heart's core. Who says he is not? if any, speak, for him have I offended." The only parts of this address which remain of general interest now

¹⁷ *Minnesota Republican* (St. Anthony and Minneapolis), December 11, 1856; lecture on "Individualism."

are the passages concerning what was happening in Minnesota.

This Slave power is not content, with holding its heel on three million slaves, but urges its claims abroad, & pushes its grim form up into our very faces. . . .

It claims protection, & bids us furnish the blood & the treasure, to preserve its power & extend its dominion. It demands the right, to bring its slaves up here, into our free air, hold them here at will, & then at will, return them again to Southern bondage.

And now comes the specific reference to the situation at the falls, spoken, be it remembered, nearly two years before the famous Eliza Winston case in Minneapolis.

And do you know friends, that here in Minnesota, just this insult, has been offered to our free-born State. Slave Masters, have brought their chattels here, & held them as such, before our faces & when they got ready, have taken them away again, & there has not been enough of the noble blood of Liberty in Minnesota, to protest against this outrage, in the name of God, & injured Human Rights.

This is the demand they make that all our free States, shall be a free tramping ground for them & their slaves, that if they please they may call their roll of slaves on Bunker's Hill, & we must stand by them, and support them in their right. And when these chattels personal escape as they sometimes will, (for there is not a Slave in all the South, but knows, which the North Star is, . . .) then these Masters tell us, we must turn man-hunters, & go off like hounds, baying on the track of the fugitive.¹⁸

The thing that needed to be done, he said, was the formation of a great antiadministration party. But that would not be enough. "You may fight against that, which upholds the wrong, & yet not fight against the wrong. . . . That sacred trust, of the elective franchise must not be used on the old 'ride & tie' principle, else as ever before, the slave power will tie us all up, and ride alone. That glorious power of the ballot . . . must not become an article in

¹⁸ Though a minister, Nichols was not a pacifist. In a sermon on the state of the world, January 1, 1860, he said: "Not being a believer in the doctrine of nonresistance to physical or moral evil, we have a strong conviction of the necessity of wars in the present state of our world, until the evil and the wrong shall be subdued, and the Omnipotence of Right shall triumph."

trade," he concluded, with a reference of particular force in St. Anthony Falls, "else our own names as freemen, will become like those stars & stripes that float ingloriously from Cheever's Tower."

It is quite obvious, I think, how appropriate had been the action of the Republican convention held in St. Anthony in March, 1855—a convention which approved a set of resolutions embodying the platform of the territorial Republican party—when, in appointing a central committee of seven to call a convention in St. Paul to perfect a permanent party organization, it included the name of H. M. Nichols.¹⁹

In the fall of 1859 it looked as if the mortgage on the new church building in Stillwater would be foreclosed, and Nichols began looking for another position. Recognizing that his church could not afford to keep him any longer, he preached his farewell sermon in Stillwater on October 23. Two Minneapolis churches were without ministers: the First Presbyterian and the Plymouth Congregational. Two Plymouth people called on Nichols to see if he could be induced to go to their church, and he preached for them on October 30. The Minneapolis people held a public meeting and canvassed the town, but could not raise five hundred dollars for six months of preaching. Early in November Nichols received word that the Presbyterians would accept an offer from the Reverend Edward D. Neill of St. Paul of two hundred and fifty dollars from the Presbyterian Church Extension Fund, and have preaching in the Presbyterian building. Eventually this offer was accepted by my grandfather, the people promising to raise another two hundred and fifty dollars themselves. He began preaching in the First Presbyterian Church of Minneapolis on November 13, leaving his family temporarily in Stillwater, and staying at the Cataract House. On December 18 he read

¹⁹ *Minnesota Republican*, April 5, 1855; "The Genesis of the Republican Party in Minnesota," *ante*, 2: 25.

from the pulpit a "Statement of church matters in Minneapolis" which explains very clearly what was happening to end the arrangement agreed to. It is so remarkable a document in the history of the Minneapolis churches that I shall reproduce it here.

Previous to my commencing preaching to the Presbyterian congregation in this place, I had an interview with Rev E. D. Neill of St Paul, who is the chairman of the Pres. Ch. Extension Com. for the Synod of Minnesota.

He then pledged \$250 for six months, from the Ch. Extension Fund, towards my support, in preaching here, offering to give me his personal note, for that amount, payable at the Banking office of Banning or Knox, in St. Paul.

At that interview it was suggested that the Pres. House would not be large enough to accommodate the congregation. And it was distinctly understood & stated, that while the Pres. Cong. should not enter into an arrangement or union *with* any other Society, they were perfectly at liberty to accept any *invitation* that might be tendered, to occupy any other more commodious place of worship, a portion of every Sabbath, if a part of the regular services were still held in the old house so that any question of title to the property could not be raised, as in the case of its entire abandonment.

Some Public Hall, the Plymouth House & the Free Will Baptist House, were named in this connection, & the only condition named, as the basis of the pledge, was the occupancy of the Pres. House a part of every Sabbath, with the liberty, to accept an invitation to any more commodious house, the other part of the time.

In accordance with this understanding & based upon the pledge of that amount of the support as secured, I commenced my labors here, the first Sabbath in the Pres. House making a statement, corresponding to what has now been read. A committe[e] was then appointed, & a subscription immediately started, to secure the remaining half of the support. The 2nd Sabbath, an invitation was rec'd & laid before the Congregation, from the Pew Owners of the Plymouth House, for myself & congregation to occupy their House, on the afternoon or evening of every Sabbath.

This invitation was accepted, for afternoon service, & notice given accordingly, & the order was then instituted as was supposed for the winter, to the acceptance of the people & the satisfaction of all concerned.

We had thus been proceeding some two weeks, when I rec'd a communication from Mr. Neill, stating, without any explanation, or asking any from me, that he should not pay the \$250 promised, unless I gave my whole time, to the Pres. congregation, *in their house of*

worship. An explanation of affairs was volunteered by myself, & Mr. LeDuc, & Mr. Tenney in separate communications addressed to Mr. Neill, & at the request of the Com. Mr. Raymond called personally upon Mr. Neill.

As a reply to these statements, I have rec'd a second communication from Mr. Neill, who also in a letter to Mr. Tenney has embodied the same results, viz. — that we may be at liberty to occupy any Public Hall in the place but that he will not pay the \$250 at first promised, if we continue to worship in the Plymouth House, offering to myself however if I will leave here \$75 per month, to supply his Pulpit, which situation I have not thought it best to accept. To this decision we have no further explanation to offer. Satisfied with the present order, which has been entered into, in good faith on the part of all, we can consent to no breach of that good faith, & see no necessity of any change, even for the purpose of securing \$250. Beside this statement of affairs I have no commentary to make.

Thus much, I felt it was in justice due to myself & the people to state. The whole of the correspondence, of which this is an abstract, is at my room, & can be read by any one, who desires, so to do.

The past arrangement having thus failed, I have only to announce, that this is our last service in this house, under that arrangement. The whole matter is in the hands of the people, for them to take such action as they may judge best.

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 18th 1859.

Read in the Pres. House in the morning & in the Plymouth House in P. M.

H. M. NICHOLS²⁰

The day after Nichols read the above announcement, Plymouth Society held a meeting and appointed a committee to call on him and tell him that he must stay. He began

²⁰ Mrs. Nichols wrote from Stillwater on December 14, 1859, commending her husband's stand. "Do not yield one principle of right or honor," she said. "Let us live upon one meal a day, [rather] than yield to such unwar[r]antable dictation." She was glad that Neill had a "man that is not to be put down by him, he has been Bishop of the Presbytery, almost too long for his own good." Neill was obviously trying to save the Presbyterian church from possible amalgamation with Plymouth. I am sure he would not have objected to the title which my grandmother gave him, for, in a letter of February 2, 1874, to the presbytery relative to his transfer to the Reformed Episcopal church, he said: "I also accept as a *fundamental principle* the ecclesiastical parity of all Presbyters, but believe, with John Calvin, that it is not evil to have a Chief Presbyter, in a large city or over a district." *Correspondence Relative to the Transfer of the Rev. Edward D. Neill, from the Presbytery of Saint Paul, to the Reformed Episcopal Church*, 3 (Minneapolis, 1874).

preaching the following Sunday in Plymouth Church, and remained its minister until his death. He was later dismissed from the presbytery and once more joined the Congregational Association which he had helped to found, thus bringing his denominational affiliations to full circle, for he had grown up as a boy in the old Huntington, Connecticut, Congregational church.²¹

The closing months of Nichols' life were essentially dramatic. On March 26, 1860, Parker M. Edgerly, the twenty-three-year-old clerk of the Cataract House, died of delirium tremens. Mr. and Mrs. Nichols were both with him when he died, and my grandfather took charge of his funeral. The next Sunday evening, April 1, he preached a temperance sermon in Plymouth Church, on young Edgerly's death. The house was "jammed to suffocation." In that sermon he appealed to young men to "dash away" the glass before it was too late, and to the mothers of Minneapolis to close up the saloons. Monday morning a "Dashaway Club" of young men was formed, and Monday evening a committee of women was appointed to visit every place where liquor was sold. There was intense excitement in town that day, which kept up on Tuesday, when fifty women visited the saloons, most of them unlicensed, and reported to the men the names of all saloonkeepers who had refused to close. On Wednesday night, April 4, between eleven and twelve o'clock, Plymouth Church was burned to the ground.²²

²¹ In his diary entry of April 24, 1859, Nichols tells of preaching in this church, "where I was brot up," during a visit to the East. See also *ante*, p. 144. The presbytery met on January 17, 1860, in St. Paul, and the Congregational Association on June 8 in Anoka.

²² See Nichols' entries in his dairy for March 26, April 1, 2, and 5, 1860; *Falls Evening News* (St. Anthony and Minneapolis), April 6, 1860; *State Atlas* (Minneapolis), April 7, 1860. My grandfather, who had been spending the night at Chanhassen, wrote on April 5: "reaching Minneapolis about 4 oclock found the Plymouth Church in ashes burned by the liquor sellers." The building had stood on the corner of Nicollet Avenue and Fourth Street, and had been dedicated on December 22, 1858.

There was no doubt concerning the origin of the fire. As the *Falls Evening News* pointed out, "there had been no service and no fire in the building since Sunday. Those who first arrived at the scene say that there was fire at both ends of the house and from the great rapidity with which it spread they believe that the floor was saturated with some inflammable material." The *State Atlas*, in more heightened language, said:

The liquor traffic in this community having written its history in letters of blood, it was no more than proper, perhaps, that it be read by the light of burning churches. . . . If by the light of the flames that swept so madly through the hall where men and women have been wont to worship God, they have been able to read those startling and terrible truths which have so long been concealed beneath the outside covering of the Rum Traffic, we may well rejoice at the sacrifice.

On Thursday night there was an immense indignation meeting in Woodman's Hall, at which Nichols spoke, and a "committee of fifty citizens was appointed to wait upon the liquor dealers and request them to abandon their business, and to ascertain upon what terms" they were willing to do it.²³ That night, while her husband was at the meeting, Mrs. Nichols was writing home, expressing fears for his safety, even though "the brethren would not let him walk the streets alone." "There was a watch set over the [Cataract] house last night," she said, "to prevent its being fired, as there is such a feeling against Mr N. by the saloon keepers."

The next Sunday morning Dr. Horace Bushnell preached an "excellent sermon" to the churchless congregation, meeting in the First Baptist Church, on "Where there is a will, there is a way." Nichols, preaching in the evening in the Methodist Church, "'freed my duty' to the Rum-

²³ *Falls Evening News*, April 7, 1860. A circular appeared after the church was burned, inviting all citizens of Minneapolis who were in favor of law and order, to meet at Ferrant's Hall "to adopt measures for the protection of the lives and property of our citizens, which are now threatened by violence." *State Atlas*, April 7, 1860.

sellers," as he expressed it, before a "perfect jam." He also arraigned the community:

The burning of our House of Worship is a loss to us as a church, but it is a greater loss to the interests of this community. We can afford our loss if this town can afford the name of having its churches burned. Let it go out to the world, that the Liquor Interest of Minneapolis, burn down churches when it takes their whim, & who suffers the most, the Plymouth people or the town where such an outrage is perpetrated. Citizens of Minneapolis can you afford such a name as that?²⁴

The weeks which were left to Nichols were few. They were fairly happy ones, however, though he did not feel quite at home preaching in the Free Will Baptist Church each Sunday morning, and in the Methodist Church each Sunday night. He went botanizing and geologizing with Dr. C. L. Anderson, down on the river bank, and there was Dr. Bushnell in the Winslow House across the river. His own people were kind. On April 21, Plymouth Church and Society called him to be their permanent pastor. Plans were being made for a new church.²⁵ A stranger put a ten-dollar bill in his hand one Sunday to help rebuild. "Think we shall live yet, if it be God's will," he wrote. But the diary stops at the end of June with these final words: "Prospect brightens for a new church."

By a curious coincidence Nichols had on January 1 preached a sermon from the text, "This year thou shalt die." By an even stranger coincidence his last sermon, preached on July 1, was from the text, "These all died in faith." On July 5, Mr. and Mrs. Nichols and their son Henry, aged twelve, were drowned in Lake Calhoun.

²⁴ Sermon of April 8, 1860. Nichols' wife was alarmed for his safety, and for a time after they had moved into a little house "out by Dea. Snow's," he carried a revolver. Nichols met Bushnell while he was residing temporarily in Minnesota for his health.

²⁵ Nichols gives the following information in his diary for May 8, 1860: "1st Cong. Soc. of Minneapolis was organized to night & Bell, Stone, Tenney, Harrison & Morgan, chosen Trustees. Prospect is good for building a new church."

They had driven to Minnehaha Falls in the morning for a picnic with the Cleaveland family of Chanhassen. Mrs. Nichols and Mrs. Cleaveland were sisters. On their way home they stopped at Lake Calhoun, and the two oldest Cleaveland girls and young Henry went bathing at a spot opposite the Lake of the Isles. About twenty feet out from shore was an abrupt drop off. The Cleaveland girls were presently in deep water and could not swim. Young Henry immediately swam to their rescue, but they clung to him and carried him under. Accounts of what followed vary, but apparently the two fathers rushed in. Nichols was a powerful swimmer, but he was fully dressed, and Cleaveland, who seems not to have been a swimmer, was presently dragging his brother-in-law down. Mrs. Nichols, standing on the edge of deep water, reached the hand of her husband, and was also carried down, calling to her sister to go back to the children left on shore—the two youngest Cleaveland girls and my father, who was less than three years old.

A few hours later hundreds of citizens of Minneapolis were at the scene, and six bodies were presently recovered from the lake.²⁶ The next afternoon at sundown six coffins were placed in a row on the lawn of the Nichols home, while over a thousand persons gathered in the neighborhood for the funeral. The little Plymouth choir sang, and the Reverend Charles Seccombe of St. Anthony, standing on the steps of the cottage, conducted the service, aided by the Reverend Charles B. Sheldon of Excelsior, the Reverend A. S. Fiske of St. Paul, and the Reverend James A. McKee of St. Anthony.

The whole community was deeply moved. On the next Sunday the tragic event was the theme of every sermon in the two cities at the falls. Bishop Henry B. Whipple of the Episcopal church preached in St. Anthony from the

²⁶ Mr. George Brackett, a member of Plymouth Church, once told me that he ran all the way to the scene of the tragedy.

words, "Set thine house in order, for thou shalt die." In the evening Seccombe preached to the bereft Plymouth congregation, using the same text which Nichols had used the Sunday before. The yellowed pages of his manuscript, before me as I write, contain some passages which I should like to quote:

Mr. Nichols . . . possessed a large & liberal heart, a degree of energy & fire that required a large room to breathe in, & a free air to breathe. . . . He possessed a depth & richness of voice . . . such as few public speakers comparatively enjoy, & this united with his impassioned eloquence gave him a great power over his audience. As a theologian, he was not a strict disciple of the schools. He inclined to union among Christians, & would have favored such an organization of the church as would permit all evangelical orders to unite; yet as it respects the government of a Church he loved the largest liberty, & could ill brook any ecclesiastical fetters.

Samuel C. Gale of Plymouth Church, a man of scholarly and discerning judgment, set down in his diary on July 13 the following words:

I never saw a whole community so stricken with sorrow. Mr. Nichols had a very strong hold upon the popular affection and filled a very large place in the society at large. . . . He thoroughly understood the people and had great confidence in the native ability and good instincts of human beings and always appealed to these qualities. Above this he possessed a most vigorous body, with great courage, a most remarkably clear and impressive utterance with the rare power of magnetizing and thrilling his hearers, this last the unvarying accompaniment of great orators. In short Mr. Nichols, if not great, was a very remarkable man and an orator, not onesided either although radical on most questions of reform. *Manliness* is the word above all others which designates the common character of the man.²⁷

The tributes of the Minneapolis press were printed in columns deeply bordered with black, and all agreed that "no man possessed a stronger hold upon the heart of the community." But I turn back to Stillwater, where this chapter began, to find the most fitting words with which to

²⁷Quoted from the manuscript diary, with the kind permission of Mr. Edward C. Gale of Minneapolis. A copy of this diary, on film-slides, is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

close. They were penned by A. J. Van Vorhes, Nichols' personal friend, in his paper, the *Stillwater Messenger*, which Nichols had enthusiastically helped to bring into existence. The editorial, printed on July 10, 1860, begins with genuine emotion:

Words are a feeble medium through which to convey the emotions of this hour, induced by the saddest event we have ever been called upon to record. The pen shrinks from the performance of its office, the heart is stilled into awe. The moistened eye, the measured tread, the saddened countenances of all with whom we meet, would reveal to a stranger that a great shadow had passed over and is still resting upon this community,—leaving its impress upon every heart. Last Thursday evening, Rev. H. M. Nichols, his wife and son Henry, bound to our citizens by inseparable cords of social and christian fellowship . . . were drowned in Lake Calhoun, near Minneapolis.

The tribute included in the editorial is particularly appropriate for the close of this paper:

As a writer and speaker, and a bold and genuine Reformer, we believe he had no peer in this State or the North-west.—Active in every educational, reformatory or other interest calculated to elevate and improve the social or moral condition of man, he was peculiarly adapted to a new country like this. He has left his impress upon the city and State, which will bless and perpetuate his name in the memory of the people. "He being dead, yet speaketh."

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THE FUR TRADE OF THE WESTERN GREAT LAKES REGION

IN 1685 THE BARON DE LAHONTAN wrote that "*Canada* subsists only upon the Trade of Skins or Furs, three fourths of which come from the People that live round the great Lakes."¹ Long before the little French colony on the St. Lawrence outgrew its swaddling clothes the savage tribesmen came in their canoes, bringing with them the wealth of the western forests. In the Ohio Valley the British fur trade rested upon the efficacy of the pack horse; by the use of canoes on the lakes and river systems of the West, the red men delivered to New France furs from a country unknown to the French. At first the furs were brought to Quebec; then Montreal was founded, and each summer a great fair was held there by order of the king over the water. Great flotillas of western Indians arrived to trade with the Europeans. A similar fair was held at Three Rivers for the northern Algonquian tribes. The inhabitants of Canada constantly were forming new settlements on the river above Montreal, says Parkman,

. . . in order to intercept the Indians on their way down, drench them with brandy, and get their furs from them at low rates in advance of the fair. Such settlements were forbidden, but not prevented. The audacious "squatter" defied edict and ordinance and the fury of drunken savages, and boldly planted himself in the path of the descending trade. Nor is this a matter of surprise; for he was usually the secret agent of some high colonial officer.²

Upon arrival in Montreal, all furs were sold to the company or group of men holding the monopoly of the fur trade from the king of France. This system of monopoly was characteristic of the French fur trade. Companies

¹ *New Voyages to North-America*, 1: 53 (London, 1703).

² Francis Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada*, 304 (Boston, 1874).

might fail and be succeeded by others, but the system was never abandoned.

Early in the history of New France the French officials there became curious about the country from which the furs came. As early as 1618 Etienne Brulé reported to Samuel de Champlain that he had made a journey to the northern shore of what is now called Lake Huron, along which he had coasted for ten days. Champlain was annoyed because Brulé had not continued his westward voyage. Champlain thirsted for knowledge of the Great Lakes. He sent Jean Nicolet to live among the Algonquian Indians dwelling near Lake Nipissing. There Nicolet remained for eight or nine years. When the tribe went to trade with the French in summer, Nicolet would accompany them and report to the governor of New France what he had learned of the distant lake country.³

In 1634 Champlain sent Nicolet on a journey to see if the route to the Orient lay through the Great Lakes. He instructed the explorer to bring the savages into alliance with the French—in the interest of “future trade and discovery.” Nicolet reached what came to be known as Michilimackinac and proceeded as far as Green Bay, subsequently known to the French as La Baye des Puants. He received a welcome from the Winnebago and allied tribes. Interior chiefs came and great feasts of friendship and alliance were held, at one of which “at least sixscore beavers” were served. Nicolet returned to Canada with the Indian flotilla of 1635. Champlain's death, however, ended an era of western exploration. The colony on the St. Lawrence turned to local affairs and Nicolet had no successor for twenty years. Wisconsin and the western Great Lakes

³William L. Grant, *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1618*, 354-359 (New York, 1907). See also an article translated by Grace Clark from the French of Henri Jouan, entitled “Jean Nicolet, Interpreter and Voyageur in Canada. 1618-1642,” in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 11: 1-25 (1888).

remained "an unknown region, the home of barbarous savages and the haunt of the beasts of the forests."⁴

As a result of the destruction of the Huron settlements by the Iroquois in 1650, no furs reached Montreal until after the victory of the western Indians over the confederacy. The Ottawa, who aspired to be middlemen, gathered furs from the western lake region and took them to Canada in 1654. When the Ottawa fleet returned to the West, Jean de Lauson, the governor, sent two French traders with them to enter into trading alliances with the western tribes. There was no flotilla in 1655, but when the two traders returned to Montreal with the flotilla of August, 1656, they reported an enormous number of savage nations in the West and revealed the possibilities of the trade. The identity of the two Frenchmen has long been controverted. It has been supposed that they were Médart Chouart, sieur de Groseilliers, and his brother-in-law, Pierre Esprit Radisson, but it was probably Groseilliers and someone other than Radisson. In 1656-57 Radisson probably made a journey to what is now Sault Ste. Marie, and subsequently he and Groseilliers made a trip to the upper lakes. They entered the Lake Superior region and built a log hut at Chequamegon Bay. The two explorers were entertained by the Ottawa and may have visited the important Sioux village on Mille Lacs in Minnesota. Upon their return to Montreal in 1660 they brought furs to the estimated value of sixty thousand dollars. Since the journey was unauthorized, the governor confiscated the furs; in disgust and anger the explorers left New France and offered their services to the British.⁵ In the West Radisson and Groseilliers had attempted to break the Ot-

⁴ Louise P. Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, 78-83 (Madison, 1925).

⁵ Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 42: 219-223 (Cleveland, 1899); Louise P. Kellogg, "The First Traders in Wisconsin," in *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 5: 351 (June, 1922); *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson*, 132 (Boston, 1885).

tawa's monopoly as middlemen, but failed. The Ottawa frightened the other nations by "tales of Iroquois atrocities" and retained the profitable trade for themselves and their "associate Hurons."

The explorations of Radisson and Groseilliers encouraged other French adventurers. Each time an Indian flotilla started west from Montreal, a few Frenchmen (Jesuits and traders) accompanied them, to remain until the next fleet went east. They spent cheerless winters on the shores of Lake Superior, living meagerly on fish and wild rice. Sometimes several years elapsed before the absence of warfare permitted the Indians to go to Montreal. The group returning in 1663 did not bring enough furs to pay for the expedition, but they did report the existence of copper deposits in the region of Lake Superior and brought with them a large ingot prepared by their savage hosts.⁶

Nicolas Perrot and Toussaint Baudry, who went out with the flotilla of 1667, visited several Wisconsin tribes and broke the Ottawa's monopoly as middlemen. The Potawatomi sent a fleet to Montreal in 1668 and thereafter undertook to act as middlemen for the neighboring tribes. They sent word to the Fox, Miami, Illinois, Kickapoo, and Mascouten tribes that they would no longer have to go to the Ottawa at Chequamegon Bay, for they could obtain French trade goods at La Baye.⁷

Upon Perrot's return from the lake region in 1670 with reports of the friendliness of the tribes, Jean Talon, intendant of New France, determined upon annexation. Accordingly he dispatched Perrot and a young noble named François Daumont de St. Lussion to carry out the ceremony. The envoys started west in October, 1670, and spent the

⁶ Kellogg, *French Régime*, 114-117; M. Benjamin Sulte, ed., "Pierre Boucher et son livre," in Royal Society of Canada, *Proceedings and Transactions*, 1896, section 1, p. 167.

⁷ Nicholas Perrot, "Memoir," in Emma H. Blair, ed., *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, 1: 25-272 (Cleveland, 1911).

winter at Georgian Bay. In the spring Perrot summoned the Wisconsin tribes to meet at the Sault. Fifteen tribes were represented at the ceremonies on June 14, 1671, according to St. Lusson's official report.⁸

The annexation pageant was as colorful as the French could conceive, in a manner calculated to impress the savage heart. From the gateway of the Jesuit mission came the French procession, led by the black-robed fathers, holding high their crucifixes and singing an appropriate Latin hymn. The traders followed, "in motley array of hunting shirts, bright sashes, gay *capots*, and embroidered moccasins," with Perrot among them. At the end marched in solitary glory the delegate of King Louis XIV, in the brilliant garb of an officer of the French army, with sword unsheathed and the royal fleur-de-lis glistening upon his helmet. On the bank of the Sault, the envoys of the nations awaited, bedecked in all the finery which the occasion required. The Frenchmen blessed the cross, and held it aloft during the chanting of the "*Vexilla regis*." The royal arms were erected and, after a Jesuit priest had prayed for the king, St. Lusson, sword in hand, proclaimed in a loud voice that he took possession of the country "in the name of the Most High, Most Mighty and Most Redoubtable Monarch Louis, . . . Most Christian King of France and Navarre." Gifts were exchanged: the savages received knives, mirrors, hats, coats, cloth, blankets, and other articles, and in return they heaped furs at the feet of St. Lusson. Perrot informed the chiefs that they had become the subjects of the great French king across the ocean. The Jesuit father, Claude Allouez, discoursed on the greatness of the French and their king. He spoke of Onontio (the Indian term for the governor of New France), whose very name was "the terror of the Iroquois."

⁸ Pierre Margry, ed., *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale (1614-1754)*, 1: 96-99 (Paris, 1876).

In France, he said, were ten thousand Onontios, each but a soldier of the king. What remains today, says Parkman, "of the sovereignty thus pompously proclaimed? Now and then, the accents of France on the lips of some straggling boatmen or vagabond half-breed;—this, and nothing more."⁹ But in 1671 this proclamation of sovereignty was no light matter. No one then could perceive the sweep and destiny of history—St. Lusson's proclamation was an event of great importance in the development of France's stake in the wilderness, the trade by which Canada lived.

In 1674 Robert Cavalier de la Salle obtained from Louis XIV a grant of Fort Frontenac, on the site of Kingston, Ontario, as a seignior, with a monopoly of the fur trade there. Subsequently he obtained permission to explore the western country and to trade in all furs except beaver, a restriction which he regularly disregarded. He established a shipyard at Niagara in 1678 and built a vessel, the "Griffon." Men had already been sent forward to collect furs in the vicinity of Detroit, Michilimackinac, and La Baye, and these furs the "Griffon" collected. The vessel was lost on the return voyage. La Salle, who continued his career in Louisiana, was never really interested in the fur trade, save as a means of financing his explorations. He reported that the western tribes, able to obtain fire arms and trade goods only from the French, took better care of them "than of their own children."¹⁰

Daniel Greysolon, sieur du Lhut, whose surname has been honored with innumerable orthographic variations, wished to discover a route to the western ocean. In 1678–79 he wintered with the Chippewa near the Sault de Ste. Marie. The Chippewa and Sioux were at war and the hostilities had broken up the fur trade. In the spring of 1679 Du

⁹ Kellogg, *French Régime*, 186–189; Parkman, *The Discovery of the Great West*, 42 (Boston, 1869).

¹⁰ La Salle's letters and journals are printed in Margry, ed., *Découvertes*. See especially volume 2, p. 284 (Paris, 1877).

Lhut went west to seek the Sioux. He made peace between the two nations and was escorted to the Sioux village on Mille Lacs. There, on July 2, 1679, he erected the arms of Louis XIV, in whose name he took possession of the Sioux country. Du Lhut was told that some of the Sioux had reached a large salt lake twenty days' journey to the west, probably Great Salt Lake. Some of Du Lhut's men journeyed west from Mille Lacs, probably as far as Big Stone Lake. In 1680, hearing that three Frenchmen were Sioux captives, Du Lhut dropped plans for further explorations and, after obtaining their release, returned to New France. The captives were Father Louis Hennepin and his two companions.¹¹ Gradually French knowledge of the western lake region grew and maps became more nearly approximated to the facts.

Early in the history of the Indian trade of New France, there developed a group called *coureurs de bois*, or bush rangers. These were persons who went into the western forests to trade and live among the savages. They were hated by the king of France, who desired to increase the population of Canada. On one occasion the intendant even issued an order forbidding bachelors to engage in the fur trade. The official plan demanded that all trading be done in Canada proper. The chief resort of the bush rangers was Michilimackinac. Here they mated with Indian women in such numbers that by the close of the French regime it is stated that most of the white inhabitants of western Canada were related to the savages by birth, marriage, or other ties. Concubinage was a recognized institution, the obligations of which were enforced "sometimes even by the local jurisprudence, and at all times by . . . public opinion." From Michilimackinac the *coureurs de bois* "would set out, two or three together, to roam for hundreds of miles through the endless meshwork of interlocking lakes and

¹¹ Du Lhut's letters appear in Margry, ed., *Découvertes*, volume 6 (Paris, 1886).

rivers which seams the northern wilderness." Edict after edict was directed against them, but without avail. Penalties were severe: whipping and branding for the first offense, death or the galleys for life for second offenders. Unable to enforce these pronouncements, the government attempted regulation by a system of licenses. This did not work because the number of licenses issued annually was usually limited to twenty-five, and there were literally hundreds of *coureurs*. Then too the governors of New France invariably engaged in the fur trade illegally and protected those *coureurs* who shared their profits with the executive. On one occasion in 1682 a governor, Antoine Lefebvre, sieur de la Barre, requested the Iroquois to plunder the canoes of all *coureurs* not in partnership with himself. The Iroquois were glad to oblige.¹²

The custom arose of granting amnesty to the *coureurs*, in the hope that in the future they would be more obedient to the gentleman in Versailles. They never were. In time the *coureurs* came to expect such decrees of amnesty and if at any time they found themselves proscribed they merely stayed in the woods until the next amnesty was announced. Father Etienne de Carheil, Jesuit priest stationed at Michilimackinac, claimed that the very agents of the king sent to distant posts to notify the *coureurs* of amnesty carried trade goods to sell to them so the outlaws could continue their illicit trade. When Du Lhut returned to Montreal from the West he found that the intendant of New France had proclaimed him a leader of the *coureurs de bois*. Frontenac, who approved of Du Lhut's explorations, had to keep him under nominal arrest to placate the intendant. Subsequently Du Lhut took advantage of the amnesty of 1681.¹³

¹² E. O. Brown, *Two Missionary Priests at Mackinac*, 40 (1889); Parkman, *Old Régime*, 305-313; Parkman, *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV*, 83 (Boston, 1877).

¹³ Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations*, 65:215 (1900); *Édits, ordonnances royaux, déclarations et arrêts du Conseil d'état du roi concernant le Canada*, 1: 86, 249 (Quebec, 1854).

Like the British, the French had their disputes over the sale of liquor to the Indians. The Jesuits were always opposed to the custom and their motives were frequently questioned. Frontenac asserted that they were more interested in beaver skins than souls and that they exaggerated the evils of brandy because they "have long wished to have the fur trade entirely to themselves, and to keep out of sight the trade which they have always carried on in the woods, and which they are carrying on there now." The king repeatedly forbade the Jesuits to engage in the Indian trade and on one occasion, in 1677, threatened severe measures if they should remain disobedient. The brandy question became acute in 1675 and Louis XIV, who stood in perplexity between Père la Chaise, Jesuit confessor, and Colbert, secular advisor, referred the problem to the University of Paris. The good fathers of the Sorbonne, "after solemn discussion, pronounced the selling of brandy to Indians a mortal sin." In Canada an assembly of merchants and chief subjects decided in favor of brandy. The question was never really settled. Decrees prohibiting the sale of liquor to the savages were often issued, and as frequently revoked. Each decree of prohibition would result in a growing *crescendo* of protest from the merchants, traders, and officials in the New World. The usual argument that won a revocation was that if brandy was withheld the British would engross the peltry trade. In addition, individual commandants would advance local reasons. At Michilimackinac in 1695 Antoine de la Mothe de Cadillac solemnly pronounced that brandy was necessary there on sanitary grounds. Since the chief diet there consisted of fish and smoked meat, Cadillac opined that "a little brandy after the meal . . . seems necessary to cook the bilious meats and the crudities they leave in the stomach."¹⁴

¹⁴ Parkman, *Old Régime*, 328-330; *A Half-Century of Conflict*, 1: 18 (Boston, 1892).

Louis XIV was never a soulful prohibitionist. In April, 1691, the monarch wrote to Saint-Vallier, Bishop of Quebec, that the brandy trade was useful to France and should be regulated but not prevented. He did not desire to have the consciences of his subjects disturbed by ecclesiastical denunciations of the liquor traffic as a sin. The good bishop was admonished to "take care that the zeal of the ecclesiastics is not excited by personal interests and passions."¹⁵

During the early period the French had a clear field in the western lake region, but during the regime of Thomas Dongan as governor of New York the British began to encroach upon French preserves. Captain Johannes Roseboom of Albany made two or more trips into the lake region and on one occasion was captured and pillaged; the French gave the trade goods to the savages. Another expedition sent by Dongan and commanded by Major Patrick McGregor was captured. The advent of the British and the supine policy of the Barre government in dealing with the Iroquois in the East were undermining the prestige of the French in the West. In 1686 Du Lhut built a fort at the site of Detroit which was maintained for a few months. The situation of the French was genuinely desperate. La Barre's successor, the Marquis Denonville, reported home in 1687 that "it is certain that, if the English had not been stopped and pillaged, the Hurons and Ottawas would have revolted and cut the throats of all our Frenchmen." For several years the French were hard put to prevent an outright triple alliance of the British, the lake tribes, and the Iroquois.¹⁶

Denonville was enraged at the British inroads in the West and wrote home in November, 1686, that "I have a mind to go straight to Albany, storm their fort, and burn every-

¹⁵ Parkman, *Old Régime*, 327.

¹⁶ Helen Broshar, "The First Push Westward of the Albany Traders," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 7: 228 (December, 1920).

thing." His feelings occasioned an exchange of letters with Dongan that delight the soul of the reader even to this day. Informed of Denonville's heartburnings, the redoubtable Irishman promptly wrote to Onontio in 1687 that "I assure you Sir, if my master gives leave I will be as soon at Quebeck as you shall be att Albany." Dongan thought it "a very hard thing that all the Countryes a Frenchman walks over in America must belong to Canada." He could not understand how Onontio could be so unreasonable, but opined that "the air of Canada has strange effects on all the Governors boddys." He proceeded to deal summarily with all French territorial claims: the right of discovery he could not recognize, since the French explorers were just "a few loose fellowes rambling amongst Indians to keep themselves from starving." He professed amazement that Denonville claimed lands because the rivers thereon flowed into the Great Lakes or the St. Lawrence: "O just God! what new farr-fetched and unheard of pretence is this for a title to a country, the French King may have as good a pretence to all those Countrys [that] drink clarett and Brandy." As for the Jesuit missions in the Indian country, Dongan wondered why the French did not claim China, since the emperor of that nation was said to have two Jesuits in attendance.¹⁷

The close of the 1680's brought a revolution and a new king to Britain. The pro-French policy of King James II, which had resulted in Dongan's recall, was discarded, and the new monarch reoriented British foreign policy. In America, King William's War was waged with savage fury. The Iroquois invaded and devastated much of Canada in 1689, and many were killed and tortured. Upon Frontenac's arrival for a second term as governor, he found New France in dire straits. He determined on an offensive, not against the Iroquois, "who seemed invulner-

¹⁷ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, 3: 472-474, 514, 528, 529 (Albany, 1853).

able as ghosts," but against the British. He dispatched three war parties of soldiers, *coureurs de bois*, and Indian allies—two against New England and the third against New York. The New York group burned Schenectady and killed many of the inhabitants. In the same year, 1690, Frontenac successfully beat off a Massachusetts expedition against Quebec under Sir William Phipps.

Even during the hostilities in the East, Frontenac did not forget Michilimackinac. He well knew that should the dam of French control break in the West, New France itself would be swept away by "an engulfing flood" of renegade savages. When Olivier Morel de la Durantaye, commandant at Michilimackinac, sent word that the lake tribes were on the point of revolt, Frontenac did not hesitate. Although he could ill afford to spare troops, he dispatched Captain Louis de la Porte de Louvigny to the West with 143 men in the spring of 1690. Knowing that Iroquois influence was behind the trouble, Frontenac sent word to the western tribes that the Iroquois were to be regarded "as five cabins of muskrats in a marsh which the French would soon drain off, and then burn them there."¹⁸

In 1693 Frontenac sent Pierre Charles Le Sueur to the West to pacify the tribes. Le Sueur had been a trader among the Sioux and on his new mission he was active in the western Lake Superior and upper Mississippi region. As a result of his activities, in 1695 an important Sioux chief made the long journey to Montreal to make an alliance with France, the first of his tribe to visit New France. At the time of Le Sueur's mission, no furs had been received from the West for three years. Frontenac sent word in 1693 that the furs were to be shipped at any hazard. When the precious cargoes arrived all New France celebrated.¹⁹

¹⁸ Claude C. L. Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 2: 231-247 (Paris, 1722).

¹⁹ Kellogg, *French Régime*, 251; Parkman, *Count Frontenac*, 315.

In 1696 Frontenac attempted direct action against the Iroquois. Upon the arrival of the French troops in the Onondaga country, they found the inhabitants gone. The invaders burned the maize fields and destroyed the caches of food. Similar measures were taken in the Oneida country and a number of chiefs were made hostages. The expedition was not wholly successful, since the governor of New York sent provisions to the Oneida and Onondaga. Throughout the war the French sought to make peace impossible between the Iroquois and the French Indian allies. At Montreal the great Onontio himself invited his Indian allies to roast an Iroquois prisoner and at Michilimackinac the French urged the Ottawa to "drink the broth of an Iroquois." In the West Perrot urged war parties of Indians to set out for the East. Beset from all quarters, the Iroquois are generally conceded to have lost half of their warriors in King William's War.

Peace between the French, their Indian allies, and the Iroquois did follow directly the treaty of Ryswick in 1697. It was delayed by the time it took to deliver prisoners, which were scattered over half a continent and adopted into the various tribes. A general conference began in Montreal on July 25, 1701, with the Iroquois and western tribes present. The Iroquois brought no prisoners for exchange and this well-nigh broke up the conference. Kondiaronk (The Rat), celebrated chief from Michilimackinac, harangued the conference for two hours from a chair (he was ill from a fever), accusing the Iroquois of treachery. It was a tense situation, since Kondiaronk had an influence far beyond his own tribe. That night the Huron chief died and his death was a blessing for the French. The governor gave the chief a gorgeous funeral. Sixty Iroquois marched in solemn procession and a Seneca chief spoke at the bier, declaring that the sun hid his face "in grief for the loss of the great Huron." The French In-

dian allies were pleased by all this ceremony, and a general peace was consummated. The power of the Iroquois was definitely broken, and never again after the peace of 1701 were they really formidable to the French.²⁰

While still at Michilimackinac, Cadillac realized the importance of establishing a permanent fort at Detroit, with a view to intercepting the activities of the Iroquois as middlemen in the fur trade. He went to Versailles and laid his proposal before the Count de Pontchartrain, minister of marine and colonies. In due course the king approved, and Cadillac received orders to establish the fort. After returning to the New World, Cadillac reached Detroit on July 24, 1701, erected a wooden stockade, and within it built huts of white oak logs thatched with grass. The post was named Fort Pontchartrain.

Detroit was barely founded when Cadillac resumed the disputes with the Jesuits that had begun in Michilimackinac, where the quarrel had been so bitter that Cadillac asserted he could not get the Jesuits to absolve him from his sins. With these quarrels in mind, the minister at Versailles had ordered Cadillac to be a friend to the Jesuits at Detroit and "to have no trouble with them." This order pained Cadillac a great deal. "After much reflection," he wrote to Pontchartrain in 1703, "I have found only three ways in which this can be accomplished: the first is, to let them do as they please; the second, to do whatever they desire; and the third, to say nothing of what they do."²¹ Any one of the three would have been too abhorrent to be practiced by a highhanded person like Cadillac. He blithely proceeded to quarrel not only with the Jesuits, but with the governors and intendants of New France and the directors of the trading company having the monopoly of the Detroit fur trade, whose relatives he accused of malversation. In 1704

²⁰ Bacquerville de la Potherie, *L'Amérique Septentrionale*, 4: 193-266.

²¹ Electra M. Sheldon, *The Early History of Michigan, from the First Settlement to 1815*, 102 (New York, 1856).

his enemies combined to have him tried before the governor and intendant on a variety of charges, including that of being a petty tyrant. He was acquitted in 1705.

Throughout all his troubles Cadillac worked for the development of Detroit and wrote enthusiastic reports of incredible length. Overwhelmed by the never-ending stream of exuberant letters from beyond the seas, the poor minister at Versailles declared that he was glad to be assured that Detroit would become the Paris of New France. What he desired, however, was a concise, exact, circumstantial, and complete account of the region, "but not in the style of a romance . . . lest the King should deem it unworthy of serious attention." No other official in America dared to address a minister of Louis XIV in so nonchalant a manner as Cadillac. It was his plan to persuade the Indians to settle around Detroit. This would enable the French to control both savages and trade and make Detroit the entrepot for a vast region. In June, 1704, a royal memorial ordered the authorities in New France not to appoint a new commandant at Michilimackinac so that the Indians there would have to go to Detroit. Cadillac boasted that so many Indians would leave Michilimackinac for Detroit that Carheil, the "obstinate vicar" there, would not have "a parish[i]oner to bury him." The garrison was withdrawn, however, and the Jesuits abandoned their Michilimackinac mission. The post was left to the *coureurs de bois*. In a few years six thousand Indians lived and traded in the Detroit area.²² This plan of concentrating Indians did not work any too well. The hunting grounds were not sufficiently extensive and it was hard to keep such an aggregation of savages at peace.

On May 21, 1696, Louis XIV issued a declaration at Versailles revoking all licenses for the trade in furs and

²² Canadian Archives, *Reports*, 1899, supplement, 207, 361, 390; "Cadillac Papers," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 33: 139, 162 (1904).

ordering the *coureurs* to cease carrying trade goods into the Indian country. Violators were to be sent to the galleys.²³ The only exception was La Salle's old post in the Illinois country, from which his successors were permitted to send out two canoes annually. The French government desired to restore the earlier plan of having the savages transport furs to Montreal. The decree did not provide for the immediate closing of the many French posts in the West, but officials in Canada were agreed that the posts could not exist without the fur trade. The decree owed its immediate origin to economic causes. Du Lhut, Perrot, and Le Sueur had succeeded much too well in opening the West to French trade. The fur trade monopoly reported that enough furs were on hand for an entire decade to come.

The deeper origin lay in the constant struggle between the imperialists of New France — the governor, merchants, traders, army men, and explorers — and the anti-imperialists — the intendant, Jesuits, and farmers. Now the anti-imperialists, through Père la Chaise and Madame de Maintenon, Louis' religious wife, had got the ear of the king; they represented to him the great evils of the fur trade and the ruin of Canadian youth in "scandalous excesses" in the wilderness of the New World. When Frontenac protested, he was reminded that the war with the Iroquois arose from the direct trade of the French with the distant Indian tribes of the West. On April 21, 1697, however, the king agreed to retain Fort Frontenac, Michilimackinac, and the post on the St. Joseph River in what is now Michigan on condition that the soldiers and officers refrain from engaging in the fur trade under any pretext whatever. Frontenac was annoyed by this restriction, but his protests were of no avail. As it turned out, he might have saved himself exertion, since the restriction was regularly hon-

²³ *Collection de manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires, et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Nouvelle-France*, 2:219-221 (Quebec, 1884).

ored in the breach. On August 30, 1702, Father Carheil addressed a forty-five page letter to Jean Baptiste Champigny, intendant, dealing with abuses at Michilimackinac. The four occupations of the soldiers were, he reported: to keep public taverns for the sale of brandy to the savages, to carry goods and brandy under orders of the commandant, who shared the profits, to gamble day and night, and to live in sin with the Indian girls swarming about the post. "If occupations of This kind can be called the king's service," wrote Carheil, "I admit that they have always actually rendered him one of Those four services. But I have observed none other."²⁴ The conditions here described and Jesuit antagonism characterized not only Michilimackinac, but most of the French posts in the West. There was, in fact, a chronic dispute between Jesuits and officers at the forest outposts.

In July, 1715, the king of France authorized the restoration of the system of licenses, the officials in Canada having represented that the British would win control of the trade if restrictions were not lifted. The traders were ordered not to carry goods to the Indian villages; trading was to be done only at Michilimackinac, Detroit, and the Illinois post. A corollary of the restoration of licenses was the re-establishment of the western posts. Michilimackinac was regarrisoned in 1715 and a new fort was built on the south side of the straits; the ancient fort had been on the north side. The fort in the Illinois was re-established and a new post was founded among the Miami on the St. Joseph River at the site of Niles, Michigan. In 1717 a fort was built at La Baye and the post at Kaministiquia, on the north shore of Lake Superior, was reopened. In the following year, Chequamegon Bay was reoccupied. Soon

²⁴ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, 9: 678 (Albany, 1855); Camille de Rochemonteix, *Les Jesuits et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle*, 3: 505 (Paris, 1896); Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, 65: 189-253.

traders of all varieties, legal and illegal, were active throughout the West.²⁵

Although the Iroquois were not a menace after 1701 and could no longer send war parties to the West, they were still able to influence western tribes. This was especially true of the Fox Indians, who were persistently hostile to the French for several decades in the eighteenth century. During Queen Anne's War, they virtually besieged Detroit in 1712. The French claimed that the British had sent gifts and messages to the Foxes, urging them to kill French traders and destroy Fort Pontchartrain at Detroit. "This is not unlikely," says Parkman, "though the evidence on the point is far from conclusive." Kiala, Fox chief, attempted to form an Indian confederacy for military action against the French. For a time he succeeded, but, in 1733, after the French had repeatedly decimated his warriors, he surrendered. His captors sent him to the West Indies, where hard labor and the tropical heat soon put an end to his sufferings. The Fox wars were damaging not only to the French trade, but to the prestige of the French in the West. The victors were never able totally to destroy the Foxes, even after publicly announcing their intention of doing so. The nadir of French prestige was reached in 1736 with the Chickasaw triumph in the South and the massacre of Frenchmen by the Sioux, resulting in the withdrawal of Fort Beauharnois, the French post on the upper Mississippi.²⁶

The fur trade depended upon peace, which was threatened at all times. It was the constant aim of New France to keep the savages of the West from waging intertribal warfare. In October, 1719, Vaudreuil reported to the Conseil de Marine that the difficulty of doing this was "in-

²⁵ Canadian Archives, *Reports*, 1899, supplement, 119; Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The French Regime in Wisconsin*, 1: 251-391 (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. 16—1902).

²⁶ Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, 1: 268, 326; Kellogg, *French Régime*, 316, 335.

conceivable." Peace was never secure. The Kickapoo and Mascoutens would attack the Illinois Indians and the Saginaw would raid the Miami; a general war was imminent at all times. The French had just brought about a general peace among the tribes in 1742, when King George's War broke out in America. In order that Frederick the Great might "rob a neighbour whom he had promised to defend," asserts Macaulay, "black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America."²⁷ These Indian wars in the West brought New France to the verge of ruin by the frequent cessation of the fur trade.

By the decree of April 20, 1742, the French introduced an innovation in the fur trade: the licenses were withdrawn and all posts were to be auctioned off to the highest bidder—the bid being the annual rental to be paid to the government for the monopoly. La Baye, the most lucrative of the posts, was the first to be auctioned. It included not only the post itself, but the rich hinterland to the west as far as the Mississippi River. A Montreal firm purchased the lease for 8,100 livres. Because of the interruption of the fur trade by King George's War and the scarcity of trade goods, no one wished to purchase La Baye when the lease expired in 1746. The system of licenses was renewed in 1749, but the lease plan was not entirely given up. Certain posts were granted to favorites by the governor of New France, with the consent of the court at Versailles, in return for an annual rental. In 1752 the Marquis Duquesne obtained the grant of La Baye for Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil. The grant was several times renewed and given for life in 1759 to Vaudreuil and his wife. It is said that the post yielded 312,000 livres in three years. In ad-

²⁷ See Macaulay's review of Thomas Campbell's *Frederic the Great and His Times*, in the *Edinburgh Review*, 75: 232 (April, 1842). The review is reprinted in Macaulay's *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 4: 184-257 (New York, 1879).

dition to La Baye, the principal posts granted as monopolies were La Mer d'Ouest (Sea of the West) — the region west of Lake Superior — and Sault Ste. Marie. Detroit and Michilimackinac were free posts, where the trade was presumed to be carried on by licensed traders.²⁸

The French system of grants gave rise to a curious situation after the downfall of Canada. William Grant, a British merchant who had allied himself by marriage with the nobility of New France, bought the La Baye lease from the Vaudreuil family. He then proceeded to offer the annual rental to the British government, on the ground that the terms of peace guaranteed the private property of the French and that a lease was property. The board of trade disallowed the claim and the Marquise de Vaudreuil, through her British friends, sought recompense from the court of St. James. In July, 1769, the British monarch granted her an annuity of three hundred pounds.²⁹

A curious feature of the fur trade under both the French and British regimes was the use of Indian slaves. Many colonists at Detroit and other forest posts had slaves. They were called "panis" because the earlier ones had been Pawnee, and were captives taken in war by the French Indian allies and sold to the French at low prices. "Their market value," according to Parkman, "was much impaired by their propensity to run off." As late as 1801 a "Pawney Man" belonging to a Mr. Barth of Sandwich, Ontario, was hailed before a magistrate for assaulting and beating a citizen of the town.³⁰

A few months after the conquest of Canada, British traders appeared in the upper lake country. As early as

²⁸ Thwaites, ed., *French Regime*, 2: 409, 435 (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. 17 — 1906); "Memoir of Bougainville," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18: 167-195 (1908).

²⁹ Marjorie G. [Reid] Jackson, "The Beginnings of British Trade at Michilimackinac," *ante*, 11: 245-247.

³⁰ Parkman, *Old Régime*, 388; Milo M. Quaife, ed., *The John Askin Papers*, 2: 357 (Detroit, 1931).

1761 Henry Bostwick and Alexander Henry were at Michilimackinac. They did not lack for competition. By the articles of capitulation of September 8, 1760, for the surrender of Montreal, it was agreed that private property was inviolate, including the furs at the distant posts, and the inhabitants and merchants, if they chose to remain, were to "enjoy all the privileges of trade, under the same favours and conditions granted to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty."³¹ Most of the traders in the West remained and outnumbered the British traders for years afterward.

In a report dated March 20, 1762, General Gage opposed the French system of monopoly at the posts and the trade in the Indian villages. He recommended that the minor French posts be abandoned. Under the regulations of Sir William Johnson, the trade was confined to Detroit and Michilimackinac. The system of regulation adopted by Johnson under the authority of the military commander in chief did not work well. Authority at the posts was divided between the commandant, with military power, and the commissary who had charge of trade. The latter was appointed by Johnson. The traders intrigued with any officials who seemed favorable to their own ends. At Michilimackinac bitter quarrels ensued between the infamous Major Robert Rogers, commandant, and Lieutenant Benjamin Roberts, commissary. Rogers tried in vain to persuade the British government to erect Michilimackinac and its dependencies into a separate civil government with full control over the fur trade and Indian affairs.³²

The Canadian merchants and traders presented memo-

³¹ Adam Shortt and A. G. Doughty, eds., *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791*, 8-29 (Ottawa, 1907).

³² Shortt and Doughty, eds., *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, 69-72; William L. Clements, ed., "Rogers's Michilimackinac Journal," in American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, 1918, p. 224-273.

rials to Sir Guy Carleton in 1766 and 1767, and employed an English barrister, Fowler Walker, to represent them in Great Britain in opposing restriction of trade to the posts. The burden of the memorials was that the fur trade would languish, that the savages had become dependent upon the white factors who dwelt among them, and that the "extension of credit to the Indians was an act of kindness, not of extortion."³³ Reluctantly in 1767 Johnson relaxed his regulations for the northern trade and the following year Canada obtained full control of the trade in the lake country and many of the old French posts were reoccupied—La Baye, Prairie du Chien, Grand Portage, and that at the entrance to Lake Superior.

From the first day the British took over Canada and the Canadian West, Louisiana was a source of discomfort and competition. Even when France controlled both Canada and Louisiana, the latter region had caused Canada much pain, for traders in New France would obtain goods on credit in Montreal, proceed to the Indian country for the trade, then drop down the Mississippi to New Orleans to dispose of their furs in a country where no questions were asked of newly arrived colonists. In 1763 France ceded Louisiana to Spain and the French and Spanish traders operating from the region competed vigorously with the British traders on British soil. After the Pontiac revolt of 1763 the Detroit traders asserted that while they were forbidden to trade in Indian villages for fear of renewing hostilities, the French and Spanish traders came within sixty miles of Detroit and "carried off furs for which they had already advanced goods the year before." In his reports General Gage occasionally noticed the activities of the traders from the west side of the Mississippi, who came "within a certain Distance" of British forts and sold goods more

³³ Marjorie G. Reid, "The Quebec Fur-traders and Western Policy, 1763-1774," in *Canadian Historical Review*, 6: 15-32 (March, 1925).

cheaply than British traders.³⁴ They were enabled to do this by the high price of furs at New Orleans.

A strange feature of the situation was the fact that British traders from Michilimackinac supplied the Louisiana traders with trade goods. These northern traders brought their goods to the French villages of Illinois by way of the Illinois River and the Chicago portage. Arrived at Cahokia and Kaskaskia, they sold their goods to French and Spanish traders, who crossed the Mississippi from St. Louis and St. Genevieve. Nearly all their goods were sold in this manner instead of to the Indians directly. They were paid in furs, which they carried to Michilimackinac. It is said that a hundred traders of St. Louis and St. Genevieve used British trade goods and that the whole of the Mississippi, from Natchez to its source, was supplied with trade goods by Canadian merchants.³⁵ Some Spanish traders even journeyed to Michilimackinac in person to obtain it.

An interesting example of the exchange of trade goods is afforded in the story of the journey of a Michilimackinac merchant named Marchesseaux. His party passed St. Louis at night, "fearing confiscation," and arrived at Cahokia on August 11, 1783. There Marchesseaux sold his goods to Auguste Chouteau, St. Louis merchant, at an advance of 137½ per cent in price, payable in furs. The party remained at Cahokia during the fall and winter. In mid-April, 1784, the packs from the Missouri arrived and Marchesseaux was paid for his goods. On May 4 the group left Cahokia en route to Michilimackinac. The high prices paid at the Spanish fur market at New Orleans were very attractive to the British traders in the Illinois country,

³⁴ Canadian Institute, *Transactions*, 3:266 (Toronto, 1893); Clarence E. Carter, *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State*, 1:114, 231 (New Haven, 1931).

³⁵ Clarence W. Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790*, 411 (*Illinois Historical Collections*, vol. 5—Springfield, 1909); E. G. Swem, ed., "A Letter on the Illinois Country to Alexander Hamilton, 1792," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 8:264-266 (December, 1921).

and some of them sent their furs down the Mississippi. The British authorities did not approve of this, but were told by the traders, very gravely, that the furs were being shipped to England via New Orleans. Few cargoes, however, ever reached Britain by that route.³⁶

If the British had cause to complain of Spanish and French competition, they certainly obtained full compensation. The traders of Michilimackinac proceeded to range over northern Louisiana, doing a good trade. Their rendezvous for this trade was Prairie du Chien, whence they would seek the mouths of the Des Moines and St. Peter's, or Minnesota, rivers. Ascending these streams they would penetrate deeply into Spanish territory, some of them even reaching the headwaters of the Missouri. Peter Pond, Connecticut Yankee, fur trader, and explorer of western Canada, who engaged in the trade at Detroit and Michilimackinac, in 1774-75 ascended the St. Peter's River and entered the plains region east of the Missouri, where he did a good trade.³⁷

From the beginning of Spanish control, the authorities sought to bar British traders from Louisiana, but without success. In 1770 the ranking official at St. Louis reported to Bernardo de Galvez, governor of Louisiana, at New Orleans, that the Spanish fort at the mouth of the Missouri was insufficient for this purpose; he recommended that a new one be built at the mouth of the Des Moines River. Galvez replied that the Spanish crown could not afford to do this. In the end, the Spanish turned to pillage. Andrew Todd, Michilimackinac trader, was seized in the Missouri country and his goods confiscated. When Lord

³⁶ John S. Fox, ed., Jean Baptiste Perrault, "Narrative," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37:514-518 (1910); Wayne E. Stevens, *The Northwest Fur Trade, 1763-1800*, 26 (University of Illinois, *Studies in the Social Sciences*, vol. 14, no. 3 — Urbana, 1926).

³⁷ Stevens, *Northwest Fur Trade*, 113; Peter Pond, "Journal," in *Connecticut Magazine*, 10: 239-259 (April, May, June, 1906). The latter is reprinted in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18: 314-354.

Dorchester (earlier Sir Guy Carleton) protested to the Baron de Carondelet, governor of Louisiana, that gentleman invited Dorchester's attention "to the illegal character of the trade which British merchants had long been carrying on within Spanish territory." Carondelet decided to fight fire with fire—in 1794 he gave Todd a monopoly of the fur trade in upper Louisiana in return for a tax of six per cent in the hope that Todd would drive the Michilimackinac traders from Spanish soil. Todd obtained trade goods from New Orleans in exchange for the furs which he forwarded. Carondelet's scheme might have worked if Todd had not inconsiderately died of yellow fever in 1796.³⁸

The American Revolution injured the fur trade of Detroit more than that of Michilimackinac, but at both places there was a scarcity of trade goods that could be traced in part to the American occupation of Montreal. Transportation was difficult during the war; on the Great Lakes only king's vessels were allowed. John Askin, who was engaged in the trade both at Michilimackinac and Detroit, complained repeatedly of the lack of goods and transportation. After George Rogers Clark's expedition to the Illinois country, the British were afraid that their trade goods would fall into American hands. The British threatened to cut off the trade if the western Indians had intercourse with Clark's Americans. From the viewpoint of the fur trade, Clark's expedition may have harmed the cause, since it broke up the British trade there without supplying a substitute, as the Americans had few trade goods. This caused some of the western tribes to be anti-American after the Revolution and contributed to the British commercial monopoly. Oddly enough, most of the few trade goods that the Americans possessed came from the British. George Morgan, Ameri-

³⁸ Jacob Van der Zee, "Fur Trade Operations in the Eastern Iowa Country from 1800 to 1833," in *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 12: 479-567 (July, 1914); Stevens, *Northwest Fur Trade*, 114.

can Indian agent, succeeded in purchasing goods from the British traders at Sandusky. The French traders also were helpful in supplying goods.³⁹

In 1777 there began a great rush of Canadian traders to the upper lakes, when it was found that the trade was not affected by the war as much as had been feared. The British authorities had qualms concerning the loyalty of the entrepreneurs, and in 1779 Captain Patrick Sinclair, commandant at Michilimackinac, evolved the custom of administering an oath to all traders entering the Indian country. Each trader was compelled to take the following solemn oath:

That I will disclose & make known without delay, all such matters as may come within my knowledge touching His Majesty's Sacred Person & Government . . . & that I will from my detestation & abhorrence of the present unnatural & horrid Rebellion and of the insidious intervention of Foreign Power called unto its aid — Manifest by my words & actions a becoming zeal and affection for the Sacred Person & Government of our said Sovereign.⁴⁰

Not only the Continentals in the West, but the French and the Spanish made raids upon British posts. In 1780 Colonel Mottin de la Balme raised a company of volunteers, most of whom came from Vincennes, and captured the British post on the Maumee. The invaders were subsequently killed. Another French expedition of sixteen men captured a British post and seized fifty bales of trade goods. They were pursued by British traders and militiamen, killed, and the trade goods retaken. In February, 1781, a Spanish expedition from St. Louis captured and plundered the British post on the St. Joseph River. The raid was suggested by two Milwaukee Indian chiefs, intent upon plunder, but it was subsequently used by the Spanish diplomats in the peace

³⁹ Quaife, ed., *Askin Papers*, 1: 67-164; Stevens, *Northwest Fur Trade*, 57; Louise P. Kellogg, *The British Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, 138 (Madison, 1935).

⁴⁰ "The Haldimand Papers," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 9: 526 (1886).

negotiations in claiming territory east of the Mississippi River.⁴¹

By the terms of peace the line of the Great Lakes became the northern boundary of the United States. When the preliminary articles of peace of November, 1782, were laid before Parliament on February 17, 1783, a storm broke. The Earl of Carlisle cried out:

All Canada is in fact lost to Great-Britain. All the country, from the Alegany mountains to the Mississippi lost. All the forts, settlements, carrying places, towns, inhabitants upon the lakes, lost. The peltry and fur trade lost. Twenty-five nations of Indians made over to the United States, together with three principal forts of Niagara, Michillimackinac, and Detroit.

Lord Walsingham called attention to the fact that Michillimackinac was the rendezvous for the fur trade of the Canadian West, a trade which henceforth would be "at the mercy of the United States." The provisional peace was "the most ignominious" ever made by Britain. In their defense of the peace both the Earl of Shelburne, prime minister, and Thomas Townshend, secretary of state, minimized the value and importance of the fur trade. "With regard to the fur trade," Townshend asserted, "interested individuals might at first raise a clamour, but, in great national transactions, the public good must be the predominant object." Lord Shelburne asked: "Suppose the entire fur trade sunk into the sea, where is the detriment to this country? . . . A few Canadian merchants might complain; for merchants would always love monopoly. . . . Our generosity is not much, but little as it is, let us give it with a good grace." The only alternative, the prime minister added, was to continue the war, since the American negotiators were adamant.⁴² As subsequent events indicate, the debaters might have saved their breath, since Britain not

⁴¹ Lawrence Kinnaird, "The Spanish Expedition against Fort St. Joseph in 1781, A New Interpretation," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 19: 173-191 (September, 1932).

⁴² *Parliamentary Register*, 9: 261, 11: 34, 39, 67-70 (London, 1783).

only retained the western posts until 1796, in violation of the treaty, but engrossed the fur trade until after the War of 1812.

In 1783 Joseph Brant asked Governor Frederick Haldimand for an explanation of the treaty. Haldimand answered softly, but sent Sir John Johnson to Niagara to reconcile the Iroquois to the change of sovereignty. Johnson told the Indians there that the monarch's American subjects were sorry and had sought royal pardon, and that King George III had decided to forgive the rebels. A Seneca chief retorted that "they believed the King told a lie, and that he was going to forgive the Americans because he could not help himself." The incident was a plain indication of the state of mind of the savages. Haldimand, who had a vivid memory of the horrors of the Pontiac revolt of 1763, feared that surrender of the posts would bring on an Indian rebellion. Be that as it may, the British, having decided to retain the posts, advanced a number of reasons for doing so, including the debts and the ill-treatment of Loyalists in the United States. Americans have always contended that Britain's real motive was the fur trade. It can now be stated positively that "the British archives contain reams of documents which provide fine ammunition for the American charge."⁴³

During the period following the Revolution, the British discouraged the entry of American traders into the lake country. William Burnett of New Jersey tried to engage in the trade in the valley of the St. Joseph. In 1791 he built a warehouse at the mouth of the river, near the site of La Salle's old fort and the present St. Joseph, Michigan. The British forced him to take a Michilimackinac firm into partnership and later arrested him on a charge of being in communication with the United States military authorities.

⁴³ Kellogg, *British Régime*, 191; A. L. Burt, "A New Approach to the Problem of the Western Posts," in *Canadian Historical Association, Reports*, 1931, p. 70.

Upon his release, Burnett married Kakima, daughter of a Potawatomi chief, after which the British did not disturb him for fear of antagonizing the Potawatomi. He sold furs at Detroit and Michilimackinac. His account books, covering the years from 1791 to 1802, show that he traded at Sault Ste. Marie, Michilimackinac, Grand River, and Chicago. Gradually other Americans began to trade in southern Michigan.⁴⁴ John Kinzie, fur trader on the Maumee and St. Joseph rivers, settled at Fort Dearborn, on the site of Chicago, in 1804, though he had traded there earlier. Another early trader there was Thomas Forsyth.

The decade of the 1780's was a boom era in the fur trade. The consummation of peace in Europe and America stabilized the market and stimulated the trade. In 1784 it is said that the trade of Detroit had an annual value of £40,800, and that of Michilimackinac, £60,400. It was not only an era of prosperity, but also of organization. Companies began to supplant the individual trader, more so at Michilimackinac than at Detroit. As early as 1779 a general store was formed at Michilimackinac. Each trader placed his goods in the store and by vote the traders chose those who were to winter among the savages. A second general store, called the General Company of Lake Superior and the South, was formed in 1785. The European market was glutted with furs and the company aimed to regulate the flow of trade goods into the Indian country. Similar conditions led to the formation by Detroit merchants of the Miami Company, probably in 1786.⁴⁵

During the winter of 1783-84 a sixteen-share firm was founded at Montreal—the great Northwest Company. Most of the company's posts were on the Canadian side of the evanescent boundary of 1783, but the company also traded on American soil and it obtained its provisions from John Askin at Detroit. In 1795 the XY Company was

⁴⁴ Ida A. Johnson, *The Michigan Fur Trade*, 99-101 (Lansing, 1919).

⁴⁵ Stevens, *Northwest Fur Trade*, 106, 134-138.

formed at Montreal by partners of the Northwest Company who had withdrawn from the parent company. After its reorganization in 1798, the XY Company inaugurated a brief period of intense, bitter rivalry, which ended only when it merged with the Northwest Company in 1804.⁴⁸ Two years later a new firm entered the trade, the Michilimackinac Company. It forestalled strife, however, by entering into an agreement with the Northwest Company by which the latter firm abandoned most of the trade within the limits of the United States.

During the years following the American military occupation of the lake posts in 1796, the British traders found themselves operating under difficulties. In 1799 Michilimackinac was made a port of entry to which all British trade goods entering the United States in that region were supposed to be transported. The United States government established factories for the fur trade at Fort Dearborn and Michilimackinac. American troops fired on boats of the Michilimackinac Company on the lakes. As a result of all these events, on October 20, 1808, the merchants of Montreal tendered to the governor of Canada a memorial declaring:

That the Indian trade within the American Limits must speedily be abandoned by British subjects, if not protected against interruptions of free navigation of the Lakes, fiscal extortions and various other vexations: that if once abandoned, it can never be regained and with its abandonment, will finish British influence with the Indian Nations residing within the limits of Canada: that British Traders have materially aided in preserving that influence hitherto,

⁴⁸ W. Stewart Wallace, ed., *Documents Relating to the North West Company*, 1-36 (Toronto, 1934); Gordon C. Davidson, *The North West Company*, 1-31, 69-91 (University of California, *Publications in History*, vol. 7—Berkeley, 1918). The beginnings of the Northwest Company are somewhat nebulous. As early as the 1770's there was an organization operating in Montreal under that name. In 1778 John Askin wrote letters to the "Gentlemen of the N. W. Co. at Montreal," and in the following year a definite sixteen-share company was formed. This firm vanished, and a new sixteen-share company was founded in the winter of 1783-84, with the elimination of the small traders.

the conviction of which is the strong motive with the American Government for wishing, by every means they can devise, to exclude such traders.⁴⁷

The first American company to enter the scene at Michilimackinac was John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company, which was chartered by the New York legislature in April, 1808. At first Astor's company made no attempt to trade in the lake region under its own name. In 1810 the Michilimackinac Company dissolved and two of its constituent firms formed the Montreal-Michilimackinac Company. The latter joined Astor in erecting the South West Fur Company in 1811. The new company was to operate in the United States, using trade goods supplied in equal portions by Astor from New York and the Montreal-Michilimackinac Company from Montreal. The two Montreal firms which were also shareholders of the Northwest Company, brought about an agreement by which the latter abandoned all trade in the United States. The articles of agreement establishing the South West Fur Company provided that if the United States government closed its factories, Astor was to have two-thirds instead of half of the business, which would seem to indicate that the government factors were doing a good trade.⁴⁸

One of the objects in forming the South West Fur Company was to circumvent American regulations. It was a very sad occasion when Astor and his British associates subsequently discovered that the nonintercourse acts applied to their activities. They managed to carry on some trade in spite of all difficulties and it was Astor's genius alone that enabled him to import furs after the outbreak of hostilities.

⁴⁷ "Colonial Office Records," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 25:256 (1896).

⁴⁸ New York, *Private Laws*, 1808, p. 160-168; Wayne E. Stevens, "Fur Trading Companies in the Northwest, 1760-1816," in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, 1916-1917, p. 282-291; Hugh McLellan, ed., "John Jacob Astor Correspondence: Fur Trade with Lower Canada, 1790-1817," in *Moorsfield Antiquarian*, 1:7-26, 111-124, 191-205, 270-283 (May, 1937-February, 1938).

Some of the furs went directly to New York from Michilimackinac. Others were taken to New York via Canada. The difficulties which Astor surmounted are simply incredible.⁴⁹ As the war progressed, however, the firm found it necessary to suspend activities.

The relations of the British to the Indians from 1783 to the War of 1812 have been much controverted. In April, 1786, Lord Sydney stated that the Indians were not to receive "open encouragement" in their hostilities with the Americans, but at the same time it would be an injustice to leave the poor savages at the "mercy of the Americans." Such a policy did not preclude the innocent pastime of giving the Indians arms and ammunition. A year later Sydney, after mentioning that Indian aid would be desirable if the United States attacked the western posts, opined to Lord Dorchester that "To afford them active assistance would be a measure extremely imprudent, but at the same time it would not become us to refuse them such supplies of ammunition as might enable them to defend themselves." According to Duncan McGillivray, even the plains Indians of the upper Missouri received "presents of Rum, arms and ammunition . . . at stated periods." In return the Indians would "kill Buffaloe & Deer and prepare the flesh and tallow" for the servants of the Northwest Company. American officials in the Northwest repeatedly accused the British of inciting the Indians, and the American press made similar charges. It was strange that a number of the British held American commissions as justices of the peace, obtained from William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indiana Territory. Two of the best-known traders receiving such commissions were Robert Dickson of Michilimackinac in 1802, and Charles Reaume of La Baye in 1803.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Kenneth W. Porter, *John Jacob Astor, Business Man*, 1: 249-290 (Cambridge, 1931).

⁵⁰ Samuel F. Bemis, *Jay's Treaty: A Study in Commerce and Diplomacy*, 15-17 (New York, 1923); Canadian Archives, *Reports*, 1928, p.

The question of the intrigues was handled somewhat gently by the diplomats at first. When Jefferson, as secretary of state, spoke to the British minister, George Hammond, about "the blood and treasure" caused by the British retention of the posts, that gentleman replied that, "I cannot easily conjecture the motives in which this declaration has originated." He was unwilling, he said, to think Jefferson meant to intimate any unneutral action on the part of the British. A year later, in 1794, the question was not dealt with so suavely and a distinctly acrimonious correspondence ensued between Hammond and Edmund Randolph, secretary of state.⁵¹

The whole question is succinctly stated in Randolph's instructions to John Jay, May 6, 1794:

One of the consequences of holding the posts has been much bloodshed on our frontiers by the Indians, and much expense. The British Government having denied their abetting of the Indians, we must of course acquit them. But we have satisfactory proofs, (some of which, however, cannot . . . be well used in public) that British agents are guilty of stirring up, and assisting with arms, ammunition, and warlike implements, the different tribes of Indians against us. It is incumbent upon that Government to restrain those agents.⁵²

No such restraint occurred and the intrigues continued for two decades more, until after the War of 1812. On February 2, 1811, Nicholas Boilvin, United States Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, wrote as follows to William Eustis, American secretary of war:

Great danger, both to individuals and to the Government, is to be apprehended from the Canadian traders; they endeavor to incite the Indians against us; partly to monopolize their trade and partly to secure friendship in case a war should break out between us and England. They are constantly making large presents to the Indians, which the latter consider as a sign of approaching war, and under

69; Indiana Territory, "Executive Journal, 1800-1816," in Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, 3: 97, 110, 122 (1900).

⁵¹ *State Papers and Public Documents of the United States*, 315 (Boston, 1815). See also the second edition of this work, 2: 57 (Boston, 1817).

⁵² *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, 1: 473.

this impression frequently apply to me for advice on the subject. Hitherto I have been able to keep them friendly.⁵³

It was not an accident that when war did come Robert Dickson, British trader of Michilimackinac, who operated in Wisconsin and Minnesota, led a force of Sioux, Menominee, and Winnebago at the capture of that post in July, 1812. What contributed so largely to the continuance of the intrigues by traders was the state of mind of Canadian high officials. John G. Simcoe, lieutenant governor of Upper Canada, for one, "could never be persuaded that the United States was not a crafty, scheming enemy led by unscrupulous and cunning men who were watching for a chance to pounce on the poorly-defended province of Quebec."⁵⁴

When at long last the American government did take over the fur trade of the lakes and its supervision, they were confronted with a problem that had baffled both French and British: the liquor question. And in dealing with it, the United States authorities made an original contribution. By the licenses issued to traders it was stipulated that if liquor was furnished to the savages, the denizens of the forests were authorized to confiscate both trade goods and liquor. William Burnett relates that on one occasion an entire cargo of liquor was unloaded from a vessel at St. Joseph, Michigan. After the barrels had been piled on the lake shore, some Potawatomi, who had been silent spectators, dutifully confiscated the liquor.⁵⁵

Another curious feature of the trade under the American regime was the use of women traders. Williams Brothers in Michigan employed a few women to collect furs and a

⁵³ E. B. Washburne, ed., *The Edwards Papers*, 61 (*Chicago Historical Collections*, vol. 3 — Chicago, 1884).

⁵⁴ Louis A. Tohill, "Robert Dickson, British Fur Trader on the Upper Mississippi," in *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, 3: 5-49, 83-128, 182-203 (October, 1928, January, April, 1929); Bemis, *Jay's Treaty*, 124.

⁵⁵ Johnson, *Michigan Fur Trade*, 151.

few women entrepreneurs are mentioned in the ledgers of John Askin. In the Grand River Valley the widow of Joseph Laframboise was agent of the American Fur Company for some years prior to her removal to Michilimackinac in 1821. G. S. Hubbard, Astor's superintendent in Illinois, said Madame Laframboise was a person "of extraordinary ability."⁸⁶

After the War of 1812 the Northwest Company re-established its posts on the American side, and apparently the British expected to engross the trade as they had before the war. They were soon disillusioned. The American law of 1816 provided that no foreigner should receive a license to engage in the trade on American soil except "by the express direction of the President." It is usually asserted that Astor caused the enactment of this measure, but of this there is no direct evidence. He tried to get some blank exception forms signed by the president, so he could fill them in and give them to his Canadian associates, but the executive declined. Astor, however, subsequently obtained a few permits. The result was to place the entire British fur trade within the limits of the United States in Astor's hands. In utter disgust, William H. Puthuff, United States Indian agent at Michilimackinac, wrote to Governor Lewis Cass, on June 20, 1816: "I wish to god the President knew this man Astor as well as he is known here. Licenses would not be placed at his discretion to be distributed among British subjects, Agents or Pensioners."⁸⁷

In 1817 Astor bought out his Canadian partners in the South West Fur Company and thereafter he did business under the name of the American Fur Company. He continued to use British employees in spite of all regulations to the contrary. In 1818 he got a ruling that while foreign

⁸⁶ Rebecca L. Richmond, "The Fur Traders of the Grand River Valley," in *Historical Society of Grand Rapids, Publications*, 1:35-47 (1907).

⁸⁷ Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 2:696.

traders could not operate on American soil, American traders could hire foreign boatmen and interpreters — and these proceeded to act as clerks and traders when once out in the bush. The American Fur Company established posts in many of the river valleys of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and in northern Illinois. The re-establishment of world peace in 1815 inaugurated the second great era of the trade in the lake country. In the summer of 1821 alone it was estimated that the value of the trade at Detroit was more than \$300,000.00, and the trade of Michilimackinac was even larger. As late as 1830, when the trade was declining, Michilimackinac did an annual business of from \$250,000.00 to \$300,000.00, of which the American Fur Company engrossed ninety-five per cent. In 1822 Astor, a genius at eliminating rivals, procured the abolition of the government factories. He did this by working through Thomas Hart Benton, United States senator from Missouri, who was also attorney for the American Fur Company.⁵⁸

Frederick J. Turner once wrote that "it is a characteristic of the fur trade that it continually recedes from the original center." As early as 1827 the trade had receded to such a low point at Detroit that Astor wished to withdraw. Ramsay Crooks advised keeping an agent there to hold "the enemy" in check. He thought that withdrawal from Detroit would mean new competition at Chicago. Astor accepted the advice, though for several years he continued to talk of selling out the Detroit branch.⁵⁹ At Michilimackinac the trade continued longer, but there was constant recession. The important fur trade era may be said to have ended throughout the lake country by 1834,

⁵⁸ *Detroit Gazette*, January 4, 1822; Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 2: 714, 1206.

⁵⁹ Frederick J. Turner, "The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin," in Johns Hopkins University, *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 9: 555 (Baltimore, 1891); Johnson, *Michigan Fur Trade*, 152.

when Astor sold his interest in the American Fur Company. New government land offices were opening and eager settlers arrived. The American Fur Company stationed at Michilimackinac continued to do a small trade until it was closed in 1854, but the important trade had ceased two decades earlier.

FRANK E. ROSS

HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

THE STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION OF 1938

TO DULUTH, the scene in 1922 of the first state historical convention held under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society, members and friends of the society returned on July 29 and 30, 1938, for its sixteenth annual tour and convention. They went to participate in a celebration of national significance, to welcome to Minnesota a caravan that had spent seven months in traveling westward from Massachusetts, and to witness the first Minnesota presentation of a pageant commemorating the sesquicentennial of the Ordinance of 1787 and the beginning of settlement in the Northwest Territory. And they attended also, at Gooseberry Falls State Park, the tenth annual North Shore Historical Assembly arranged by the historical societies of Lake, Cook, and St. Louis counties.

On the morning of July 29, some sixty tourists left the Historical Building, St. Paul, in a chartered bus and a number of private cars. After pausing at Duluth, where luncheon was served at the Spalding Hotel, they followed the picturesque North Shore of Lake Superior to Gooseberry Falls State Park, about twelve miles beyond Two Harbors. Upon entering Lake County, near Knife River, the visitors were welcomed by a reception committee, consisting of Mr. Lawrence Claffy, chairman, Mr. M. H. Brickley, mayor of Two Harbors, Mr. W. O. Lomasney, Mr. J. R. Lindgren, Mr. A. E. Haugan, and Mr. Paul W. Nelson. They led the way to the picnic grounds near the mouth of the Gooseberry River—said to have been named for the French explorer, Groseilliers—where the assembly of the three North Shore historical societies was already in session. There Mr. Charles E. Campton, the presiding officer, introduced Mr. Edward C. Gale of Minneapolis, who voiced the

greetings of the Minnesota Historical Society, of which he is president. Mr. Gale announced that he had come from the land of the Sioux to smoke the pipe of peace in the country of the once hostile Chippewa, and he congratulated members of the three northeastern local historical societies upon their noteworthy activity.

The meeting then in session was tangible evidence of that activity. After Mr. Gale had concluded his remarks, Mr. Campton called upon Mr. Otto E. Wieland of Duluth, president of the St. Louis County Historical Society, for a paper on "Early Beaver Bay and Its Part in the Discovery of Iron." Among those who noted the presence of iron in northeastern Minnesota at an early date, said Mr. Wieland, were Dr. John McLoughlin, the trader, and J. G. Norwood, a member of the expedition led by David Dale Owen. The speaker emphasized, however, some discoveries about which very little has been known, in which members of his own family, Christian, Henry, and Ernest Wieland, played an active part. In the summer of 1865 they led Henry H. Eames of St. Paul, who was searching for gold, to the vicinity of the Vermilion iron deposits, and in the early 1870's they acted as guides for Peter Mitchell, who "is justly ranked as the first real explorer for iron ore in northern Minnesota." In 1866 the Wieland brothers were authorized by the Minnesota legislature to build a toll road between Beaver Bay and Lake Vermilion, and in 1872 Christian Wieland surveyed some lands for a group of business men at Ontonagon, Michigan. What Mr. Wieland designates as the "Ontonagon pool" took over a tract of ten thousand acres, and "out of this pool there grew, a few years later, the Mesaba Iron Company, the first iron mining company organized in the state of Minnesota."

Mr. Wieland, who spent his youth at Beaver Bay, was followed on the program by another North Shore pioneer, Mr. E. A. Schulze of Los Angeles. He recalled particularly the difficult methods of transportation with which the

early settlers at Beaver Bay were obliged to cope. For two decades after the arrival of the first settlers in 1856, all supplies reached the frontier community by boat or trail, and as late as 1876 a family left by sleigh for a visit to Ohio. Residents of old Beaver Bay counted themselves fortunate if they received their mail once a week. With the inconveniences of travel endured by these pioneers, the speaker compared the speed and efficiency of modern transportation. Upon the conclusion of Mr. Schulze's talk, Mr. Campton called upon Mr. Thomas Hughes, superintendent of Gooseberry Falls park, to rise, and he extended to the visitors a word of welcome. The final speaker on the program was Mr. Edwin S. Cay, who represents the National Park Service in Lake County. He reviewed the history of the Gooseberry Falls area from about 1900, when the white pine was taken out by a lumber company. The land about the mouth of the river and the falls was acquired after that by Senator William F. Vilas of Wisconsin and it was from his estate that the property was purchased for park purposes by the state of Minnesota in 1934. A CCC camp was established in the same year, trails to the falls and the river were opened up, buildings constructed, and picnic grounds arranged. The recreational possibilities of the beautiful North Shore area have been well exploited at the mouth of the Gooseberry River. After the meeting some of the tourists took time to walk through parts of the park and to view the falls before returning to Duluth.

The evening session convened at the Duluth Chamber of Commerce, where dinner was served to about a hundred people at 7:00 P.M. Mr. Gale introduced Judge Bert Fesler of Duluth, a prominent leader in North Shore historical work, who presided. It was appropriate, said Judge Fesler, that the principal address of the evening should be presented by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, senior research associate for the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for she is "acknowledged as the leading scholar of her genera-

tion on the history of the Northwest Territory," and particularly on the French period in this region. Miss Kellogg began her interpretation of "The Old Northwest and the New" by defining the Old Northwest as the area bounded by the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. To the French it was known as the "upper country," and they called the great lake on which Duluth is located the Upper Lake. The French lost the Northwest to the British, who called it the "back country," prohibited settlement in it, and in 1774 made it a part of the Province of Quebec. The speaker then turned to the question, "Who won the Northwest for America?" She pointed out that George Rogers Clark is frequently given credit for this feat, but, she said, she is inclined to consider the winning of the Northwest a diplomatic victory on the part of Adams, Franklin, and, notably, John Jay. After the region was won it had to be organized, and for this purpose the Ordinance of 1787 was passed by Congress. "This was a new thing in the world," said Miss Kellogg, for it granted "equal powers to colonies or outlying regions," which after certain preliminaries were to be formed into new states. It was not, however, until after Anthony Wayne had conquered the Indians of the Northwest in 1794 and Jay had made a treaty with the British in 1795 whereby they surrendered the Northwest posts that the Old Northwest could be really organized. Miss Kellogg made it clear that the more remote portions of the region did not come under American control "until after a second war with England had ended in a second diplomatic victory for the Americans." It was only then that the new states of the Northwest took form. If the original boundaries of the five states as outlined in the Ordinance of 1787 had been observed, said the speaker, Toledo would be in Michigan; Chicago, in Wisconsin; and, without the sixth state, Duluth and St. Paul, in Wisconsin. She called attention to the fact that while the New Northwest has only one-twelfth of the area

of the United States, it has one-fifth of the population, "and that too the most composite group perhaps in America—the real melting pot, which is transforming European immigrants into American citizens." In conclusion she expressed the hope: "May we continue, in the words of the famous Ordinance whose proclamation we celebrate, to believe that 'Religion, morality and knowledge' are 'necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind.'"

The second speaker on the evening program was the distinguished Duluth novelist, Mrs. Margaret Culkin Banning. She rose to announce that she felt that she was representing at this meeting her father, Mr. William E. Culkin, founder in 1922 and president until 1937 of the St. Louis County Historical Society, who could not be present because of illness. Speaking informally on "A Novelist Glances at History," Mrs. Banning revealed with grace and charm how the writer of fiction can draw upon the work of the historian to produce enduring literary masterpieces. The romantic novelist of the past distorted many historical facts, but now the "historian is coming closer to the novelist and the novelist closer to the historian. The old fantastic liberties are not being taken with history because there are imaginations at work which do not have to take those liberties," she continued. "The realistic novel has done wonders in providing a base for the historical novel. For when a good realist turns to history, you have something!" As a recent example of a good historical novel, the speaker cited Kenneth Roberts' *Northwest Passage*. In defense of the novelist's right to look at history, and to draw upon it, she pointed out that "History for the novelist must be interpreted, not through race or natural movements alone, not through entire groups of people, but through the separate characters of men," and she made it clear that "it is because of those characters that there is history." She finds, she said, in many of the characters who built the frontier state

of Minnesota, potential material for novels, and she expressed the wish that "we would develop in Minnesota a novelist so competent, so thoroughly trained, in fact and in method, and yet so imaginatively keen that we would get the novel that would fittingly deal with this territory." Such a book has not yet been produced "because no one sufficiently robust has attempted it." The great Northwest novel will be written, Mrs. Banning believes, only when we have better novelists, better historians, and a more educated public.

The tourists had an opportunity to compare the new Northwest with the old on Saturday morning, July 30, when they went by bus and car to Fond du Lac, the site of an early trading post on the St. Louis River. Over the justly famed Skyline Drive of Duluth they traveled for more than an hour, viewing the wide blue expanse of Lake Superior, Duluth Harbor, the great industrial city on its rim, Minnesota Point, the ore docks, and the irregular reaches of land and water that mark the mouth of the St. Louis. From the heights far above the city the visiting historians obtained a bird's-eye view of the river that Du Lhut and Perrault entered at the Head of the Lakes, tracing its winding course to old Fond du Lac. There, beneath the spreading branches of trees in whose shade traders and voyageurs probably rested, they found a reproduction of a stockaded post and trading store of the British period. After inspecting this interesting reminder of the fur-trading era, about seventy-five people assembled near the river to listen to a paper appropriately dealing with the subject "When Fond du Lac was British." Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, introduced the speaker, Mr. Ellworth T. Carlstedt, instructor in history in the junior college at Bloomfield, Iowa. He explained that the term "Fond du Lac" was used by traders to describe a vast region extending westward from Lake Superior to the Red

River, and that he was using the name in that sense. Several British traders entered this region by way of the St. Louis River in the late decades of the eighteenth century, and in 1784 Jean Baptiste Perrault visited it for the first time. After trading there for several seasons, he was engaged by the Northwest Company to build a fort which would serve as a depot for the entire Fond du Lac region. This post—Fort St. Louis on Connor's Point in what is now part of Superior, Wisconsin—was occupied from 1793 until after the War of 1812. After 1817 the American Fur Company established posts in the vicinity, and it built a fort at Fond du Lac, Minnesota, not far from the spot on which the meeting was being held. Mr. Carlstedt's survey of the fur-trade era in the Fond du Lac region will appear in a future issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY.

While the tourists were enjoying their visit to Fond du Lac, Senator Victor E. Lawson, chairman of the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission of Minnesota, Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society and secretary-treasurer of the commission, and a delegation of state and city officials remained in Duluth to welcome to that city and to Minnesota the Northwest Territory pioneer caravan. At the Arrowhead Bridge, which connects Duluth and Superior, they met thirty-six young men who in the winter of 1937-38 reproduced the long trek made by the first settlers of the Northwest Territory in 1787-88. Traveling in oxcarts, a Conestoga wagon, boats that they themselves constructed, and on foot, they covered the distance from Ipswich, Massachusetts, to Marietta, Ohio, between December and April, following closely the schedule of the original Northwest pioneers. After reaching Marietta, they traveled through most of the states of the Old Northwest, and their arrival at Duluth marked their entrance into the sixth state carved from that territory. These modern pioneers were the guests of honor at a luncheon, at the Hotel Duluth, ar-

ranged jointly by the historical society and the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission. There about a hundred and thirty people, including members of the society's tour, welcomed the caravan and met its members.

For the program of talks that followed the luncheon, Senator Lawson presided. He called first upon Mayor C. R. Berghult of Duluth, who extended an official welcome to the members of the society and of the caravan. "The city of Duluth is doubly honored in having you here for its part in the celebration of the adoption, a century and a half ago, of that document so historically noteworthy in the annals of mankind's search for freedom, liberty, and security," he said. He particularly complimented the society for collecting the records of pioneer life and "American growth," and for making it "possible for this and succeeding generations to acquire a knowledge of the great work of those whose enthusiasm, spirit of adventure, and sacrifice have made our civilization what it is today." Senator Lawson next read the following letter of greeting from Governor Elmer A. Benson:

In the past two years, we in Minnesota have taken part in several anniversary celebrations of both national and international significance. All of them have touched us deeply, because they reminded us of the wealth of our heritage from the past and the sacredness of our obligations to the future. None of them has stirred more poignant memories than this 150th anniversary of the federal Ordinance of 1787, which opened up for settlement the vast Northwest Territory, of which eastern Minnesota was a part.

To the members of the Ox-cart Caravan, I extend across the state the handclasp of welcome to accompany official greetings. While they are here, I know they will discover why our people are noted for their simple and wholehearted hospitality, and why the attractions of life in Minnesota are so highly spoken of by our citizens when they are away from home.

On occasions like this, when we celebrate significant men and work of the past, we do not have our eyes only upon the past; we have them also upon the present and the future. There would be no worthwhile life in the present if we did not have great traditions from the past; and there can be no worthwhile life in the future, if we are not today building the traditions for a great future.

As has been well said, there is never a moment when the sunset ceases to die over past achievements and glories, and never a moment when the light is not breaking over the dawn of a new day toward which we must move if life is not to stand still.

In that spirit, the Northwest celebrates the opening of this territory for settlement 150 years ago. We live in gratitude for memory of the pioneers of the past, who wrought to build a society of free men, living without subordination to privileged classes such as the early settlers and later immigrants left behind them in Europe; and we use this celebration as an occasion to salute the future and resolve that we in our time shall also be pioneers, seeking to discover and bring to life a better world for the generations of young people who will follow us.

Brief talks were then given by Dr. William Bagley, director of the Duluth Chamber of Commerce; Colonel Frank Tenney, local chairman of the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission; Dr. Blegen, who spoke on behalf of the Minnesota Historical Society; Mr. O. K. Reames of Zanesville, Ohio, manager of the caravan and author of the pageant that it was producing; several members of the caravan, including Robert Neary of Manchester, Massachusetts, Ralph Swenson of Minneapolis, Arnold Raikes of Phillippi, West Virginia, Eugene Cowan of Rock Hill, South Carolina, Zeke Pugh of Wellesville, Ohio, John Ward of Evanston, Illinois, and Carl Appelgate of Terre Haute, Indiana; Mr. James Kelly, director of the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission of Minnesota; Mr. Ed Shave, director of the Minnesota tourist bureau; Mr. Gale; Mr. Wieland; Judge C. R. Magney of Duluth; and State Auditor Stafford King. Members of the caravan revealed that they came from thirteen different states and twenty-two colleges; and they told how they traveled overland in the dead of winter from Ipswich to West Newton, Pennsylvania, where they constructed by primitive methods the boats in which they made a voyage of three hundred and fifty miles to Marietta.

Twenty thousand people are said to have lined the streets of Duluth at 4:30 P.M. to witness a parade in which mem-

bers of the pioneer caravan with their ox-drawn Conestoga wagon marched. Local military units and bands, floats representing organizations and business concerns, and school children also participated. Among those who watched its progress were the members of the historical tour. They gathered at the Hotel Spalding at 6:00 P.M. for an informal dinner, and at 8:00 P.M. they went to Ordean Field to witness the first presentation in Minnesota of the Northwest Territory pageant, "Freedom on the March." In eight colorful episodes, they saw members of the pioneer caravan re-enact scenes connected with the acquisition, the organization, and the settlement of the Northwest Territory. The pageant, which was presented under the auspices of the Federal Northwest Territory Commission, opened with a scene depicting the Albany Convention, at which the "first official step toward the union of the American colonies" was taken. This was followed by episodes showing the capture of Fort Sackville by George Rogers Clark; the framing of the "Pickering petition at Newburgh, where the Ordinance of 1787 was born"; the treaty of Fort McIntosh, by which the United States secured title to the Northwest Territory from the Indians; the organization of the Ohio Company; the passage of the ordinance; the departure of the first settlers from Massachusetts for the Ohio country; and the establishment by these settlers of the first civil government in the West. The Duluth presentation took place before an audience of about six thousand people, who filled the handsome new stadium facing Lake Superior. The first of seventeen performances given in Minnesota between July 30 and August 18, it formed a fitting climax for the sixteenth state historical convention. Members of the tour returned to the Twin Cities on the morning of July 31 feeling that Minnesota was appropriately commemorating the sesquicentennial of the Northwest Territory.

B. L. H.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE BIOGRAPHY OF A PIANO

A PIANO MIGHT, to some, seem an uninteresting topic for a biography, yet in my estimation an instrument that has contributed much to the advancement of community life and helped to form a background for culture and betterment deserves such recognition. The piano to which I am referring is one in my possession—a Nunns and Fischer of 1839.

John U. and Charles S. Fischer, members of the firm that manufactured this piano, were grandsons of a Viennese piano maker who wandered into Italy in the late eighteenth century and made pianos that found favor with King Ferdinand I of Naples. Fischer taught his art to his son, who later studied in Vienna, and then returned to Italy and continued his father's business. Members of the third generation, John and Charles, followed the trade of their father and grandfather by becoming expert piano makers. The pianos they manufactured were masterpieces of tone, beauty, and brilliancy. But these two youths felt the inherent Fischer wanderlust and left Italy for the land of hope and fortune—America. After landing in New York in 1839, they immediately found employment with William Nunns, a successful American piano maker, and formed the firm of Nunns and Fischer. Nunns retired from the business in 1840 and the firm name was changed to J. and C. Fischer. The Nunns and Fischer piano was made only for one year, and in that time only a very limited number of pianos were produced. It is doubtful that many of these pianos are in existence today.

My piano has a walnut case of a small square type, measuring about six feet in length, less than three feet in

width, and thirty-three inches in height. It is supported by four shapely octagon legs, harmonizing with the entire design of the instrument. At such an early date the mechanism of a piano was comparatively simple, and this instrument has only a six-octave keyboard.

The piano was purchased secondhand in New York City by Shebna S. Young, a sea captain operating ships that carried lumber from Maine to New York, in 1849. He presented it to his daughter Elizabeth, later Mrs. A. D. Richardson, then ten years old, who showed considerable talent for music. In 1856 Young caught the popular spirit of "Westward Ho," gave up the sea, and pushed West. Down the turbulent Ohio River he went with his family and their belongings, including Elizabeth's piano. When they arrived at Cairo, Illinois, the bulky piano was transferred to a river boat bound upstream. During this process the piano was dropped to the bottom of the Ohio River by inexperienced rivermen accustomed only to handling barrels and crates, not huge pianos. With great effort and care it was lifted aboard, none the worse for its harrowing experience. It then proceeded up the Mississippi River to Prescott, Wisconsin, and up the St. Croix to Lakeland in Minnesota Territory. There for the second time the piano was dropped into a river, and again it was raised from the river bottom. Finally it was placed in the home of the Youngs! This Nunns and Fischer doubtless was one of the very first pianos to be taken up the Mississippi and St. Croix rivers. It is true, however, that a piano was taken to the Indian agency at Portage, in southern Wisconsin, as early as 1831.¹

Lakeland, the destination of the Youngs and their piano, was in 1856 a prosperous little village with a large sawmill operating under the name of Staples, Merritt, and Young. Shebna Young was interested in the mill, then one of the biggest on the St. Croix. Lumbering was the great indus-

¹ *Milwaukee Journal*, July 31, 1932.

try in this locality; "by 1856 there were seven mills at Afton, Lakeland, and Hudson."²

The Youngs's piano created a stir among the people. They ferried across the river from Hudson and came from all the countryside to see and hear it; it was the first piano many of them had ever seen. While living in Lakeland, Elizabeth Young gave music lessons, for she was an accomplished musician who had studied in the East prior to 1856. Those who knew her recall that "Sitting at a piano playing and singing, there was nothing more beautiful than she."³ After living in Lakeland four years, the Youngs moved across the river in 1860 to a site near Hudson, Wisconsin, now commonly called the Whitten land. There they set up housekeeping and again their piano was the center of attraction. Shebna Young saw the same Hudson that Caroline Martin Goss describes in her *Memoirs*: "Hudson was a tiny town; it was a bustling, busy place with sawmills on both sides of the river, and a heavy steamboat traffic, as supplies of all sorts came in by boat."⁴

The years sped along and death claimed Shebna and his wife. The piano was passed on to one of the Young children, who took it to Hudson. There it was placed in a home on Fourth and Oak streets, where it remained until the house was torn down to make room for a new school. The piano was then returned to the farm and placed in an unoccupied room of the farmhouse. Unused, it stood there until 1932, when Mrs. H. W. Miller of Hudson, in a conversation with Margaret Goodrich, a granddaughter of Young, mentioned the subject of pianos. In the course of time the piano was purchased by Mrs. Miller.⁵

² Genevieve Cline Day, *Hudson in the Early Days*, 35 (1932).

³ Miss Margaret Goodrich of Hudson attributes this statement to the late Mrs. E. B. Williams. All personal data was generously given to the author in an interview with Miss Goodrich on December 27, 1937.

⁴ See p. 32.

⁵ Day, *Hudson in the Early Days*, 37.

What enjoyments and pleasures this little piano must have brought to the wilderness of the fifties! The influence and culture that came with it are of great consequence, for they provided a foundation for a richer life in the West, and gave to those who came in contact with the instrument a sense of refinement and an awareness of beauty. No longer does music come from its aged strings; for time has deprived it of its soul. Silently it stands, ornamented only with candlestick and silk shawl, recalling the glories of an era far removed — a mute reminder of pioneer music in the Northwest.

WILLIS H. MILLER

HUDSON, WISCONSIN

PIONEERING IN STEARNS COUNTY

THE WRITER OF THE FOLLOWING LETTERS, Albert E. Bugbie, settled in Stearns County in 1867 as a youth of eighteen. He acquired a farm at Paynesville, which was organized as a township in the year of his arrival. To George B. Greene, a friend living at his old home at Belchertown, Massachusetts, Bugbie sent the reports of life on the Minnesota frontier that appear herewith. Although he was enthusiastic about his new home, he pictured both its drawbacks and its advantages for the settler from New England. His correspondent chose to remain in Belchertown. He must, however, have found Bugbie's letters of interest, for he preserved them, and eventually they came into the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Ina Greene Gray. Recently she sent them to the writer's daughter, Mrs. R. F. Schwartz of Paynesville, through whose courtesy copies were obtained for the Minnesota Historical Society.

In publishing the letters, numerous references to people and events at Belchertown and to purely personal matters have been omitted. It should be noted that members of the family spell the name "Bugbee," though the writer of these letters preferred to spell it "Bugbie." B. L. H.

ALBERT E. BUGBIE TO GEORGE B. GREENE, September 21, 1868,
to February 19, 1875

PAYNESVILLE Sept 21st 1868

BROTHER GREENE yours of the 2nd was received last Saturday eve, was glad to hear from you once more but sorry to hear that you had hurt your hand. I run a pitchfork tine through my hand about three weeks ago & that laid me up for a week, & now I have a Boil on my left foot that has laid me up for a week. We havn't got through with our haying yet. have got about five ton waiting to be stacked. On account of my foot we hav'nt got it done yet. . . .

I wish you & Sheldon were out here. You certainly could do better at farming here than at the east. I have got me a farm of 170 acres, 160 prairie land & 10 woodland. The woodland is in some of best in this part of the state. The prairie is also excelent. Much better than any around turkey hill. Not hardly a dozen stones on it, excepting two knolls that are a little stoney, but are all small stone.

I wish you had been here to have eat supper with me last night. we had Roast Goose. we also had one last thursday, they are as thick around here this fall as the Crows about. Would like to have you go hunting Geese & Ducks & Deer with me some day this week. the Ducks are very thick. I have shot six or eight already.

We are going to have Venison for dinner. Shot the last of last week. I didn't shoot it but wish I had. I hav'nt tried to shoot any yet. It's fun to shoot Geese & Ducks I can assure you.

There is a lot of "Half breeds" camped in Paynesville for the winter they live in reagular [*sic*] Indian style, & have Indians "Tepees" (huts) to live in.

I am going to have them make me a pair of Mocasins to wear this winter, they make them for a dollar a pair. . . .

I have commenced me a library, have got two books for it. "Pilgrims Progress," & Hollands poem, "Kathrina," it's a splendid poem. Have you ever read it? . . .

Hoping this will find you well I remain yours &c&c

A E BUGBIE.

PAYNESVILLE, STEARNS Co Feb. 6th (March I guess.) 1870
BRO GREENE Yours of Jan 25th came to hand by last evenings Mail.
. . . There was more news contained in that one letter than I have

heard from Belchertown befor, since you last wrote me. . . . We are all as well as usual I believe. I [*sic*] fellow can't afford to be sick out here in this country during this season, for the money is so awful scarce. I havn't seen but about ten \$ in cash during the whole of the winter thus far. Still I have worked steadey all winter at paying my old debts. I have been at work getting out timbers and plank for a Bridge, but got through last night. I got only \$1⁵⁰ per day for myself and team & board ourselves out of it. Times are the hardest here this winter that I ever saw them. Before this winter, money was about as plenty and wages about as good as they were formaly in Mass. The first twelves months that I was here I earnt \$240.00 working by the month. out of that sum I saved \$200.00 & payed it twords getting me a farm. it cost me only forty dollars for clothes boot & shoes & spending money during the year. I could'nt have saved near as much out of that amount in Mass. for it would have cost me a great deal more for spending money thare than here. Last year I don't think I cleared quite so much as the year before, although I farmed on my own hook. I should have cleared more if Wheat had kept up at the same price last fall as it was the winter before. Wheat then was worth \$1.00. per bush. now it is only worth .50 per bush. if I could have got one dollar for my wheat the same as the farmers did the season before I should [have] cleared all of \$300. but as it was I guess that I shall clear about \$175. before the first of April. Next summer I intend to put in about 50 Acres of Wheat which will yeald me about 1,500 buysels [*sic*], that is if it is any kind of a season. that will bring me, what I shall have to sell out of it, counting it at one dollar per bush. \$1400, & the cost of raising will be about half. Still it may not be worth over fifty cents and perchance not worth that much. Still I am fully convinced even during this tight pinch, that a young man can make more money in a year, & live upon less than half, that he could in the East. to be sure things are not quite as convenient and comfortable here as they are in the east, but every year brings us nearer and neare[r] to the manners and customes of the East

We have had a pretty good supply of snow here this winter. in the woods, it is about straddle deep on a man. Althoug[h] we have had considerable snow still I think that the weather has been more mild than it was during the other two winters that I put in in Minn previous to this. The coldest weather we have had thus far has

been only thirty six degrees below zero. We have had, since I have been [here], some desperate cold, weather, fifty degrees below being about the coldest. . . .

your brother

A E BUGBIE.

MINNESOTA PINERIES, July 15th 1871

BRO GREENE . . . You will see by this that I am not at Paynesville this summer as usual, but am a long ways from there. I am in the woods about thirty miles from any persons besides our crew which consists of ten fellows, and about as jolly a crew of lazy men as can very often be found. About thirty miles from here is an old U S. agency or Indian trading post, and about five miles from there is our post Office. and there is only three white men living there, A Post master, store keeper & Saloon Keeper. the rest are all Indians and half Breeds, and they are a darn'd sight worse than the Indians, about half white and the othe[r] half Indian. I came in here about the first of May with three other fellows from Paynesville, & calculate to stay here till about the first of December. We are getting \$42. per month, & that is considered pretty good pay for this country.

I put in about sixty acres of Wheat, Oats and Barley before I came in here & then hired a man to harvest and thrash it for me. that will probably cost me about \$150, & the crop will bring me at the least \$400. So if every thing goes on as I am in hopes it will I shall mak[e] \$500. from the first of April, till the first of December. I was down to Paynesville to spend the fourth, & stayed six dayes [*sic*], & I had become so much Indianised during the two months that I had been here that scarcely any one knew me. When I come out of the woods this fall I will send you a likeness of your humble servant to let you see how bad a man can get to looking by living amongst the Indians. . . .

. . . Now you answer this to me as soon as you get it & let me know how all are getting along and oblige one of your oldest & truest of friends who goes by the name of

A E BUGBIE

PAYNESVILLE N^o 3rd 1872.

BRO GREENE How are you getting along now days, & what are you about. Are you going to teach School again this winter.

I have taken a school for five months, to commence next Wednesday morning. the same School that I taught last summer and winter. By the way, how are Politics in your part of the country. Out here that is the whole sum and substance of the conversation now days. Its nothing but Grant & Greely & Greely & Grant all the time. Suppose that day after tomorrow will decide which of those illustrious Gentlemen will rule our great and glorious community for the next four years. Which of them stands the best show in Mass. and which of them are you voting for. Greely does not stand much of a Show in our immediate community. But through out our county will probably get a good many votes, as there are a large number of Catholic Germans through the county. . . .

Rosie says thank you for the flower seeds that you sent her & says if you have any new varieties send some of them along. She had a splendid assortment of flowers this summer. as great a variety as I ever saw in one garden.

I tell you this country can not be beat for such things, if one has a mind to take an interest in them. And you know she is a great hand for such things.

The young men of our town have just been getting up a Brass Band your humble servant among the rest. I commenced with playing the Snare Drum, but have exchanged it for one of the instruments. And am learning another fellow to play the Drum. Our Base Ball club has done but poorly this summer as three or four of our best players have been gone nearly all summer.

Business is just commencing to be lively, expect it will be a great deal more so after election. Wheat is rather on the decline now, is only worth from Seventy (70) to Seventy five (75), per bushel. it was worth a dollar, a month ago. Corn & Oats are so plenty that there is scarcely any market for them. Oats are worth from 10 to 20 cts a bushel. My partner bought a hundred bushels a few days [ago] for eleven dollars & sixty cts, (\$11.60) Corn will not sell at all on the cob. Shell corn from 15 to 25.

How is the Apple crop with you this fall? I believe they are

worth from four to six dollars a barrel. Think if they get any lower than four dollars I shall buy a few barrells.

Now write me just as soon as you get this and all the news that you can think of. And oblige your old friend

A E BUGBIE

PAYNESVILLE MINN Feb 19th 1875

BRO GREENE, your ever welcome and long looked for letter came to hand by last evenings mail. found us quite well. Much better than one could really expect considering what an enormous long spell of cold weather we have had. Ever since Christmas it has been between twenty five and fourty degrees below zero, and some of the time, was down to forty five degrees below. Every one say[s], it has been the coldest weather they ever knew. Have not had very many Severe Snow Storms as yet and I don't anticipate a very great many more between this and spring. As you said, I did not intend the first of the winter to teach, and refused three good chances. was not out of my fall term till the twenty first of November. But business generally was getting rather dull so I concluded I would teach a few months. So am now teaching a three months school, have three weeks after this week. Business ever[y]where through out the western country is dreadful dull this winter, and large number[s] of mercantile houses are going by the board. A H Wilder & co of St Paul is one very heavy wholesale concern that has gone up this winter. Also D M Russell of St Cloud is another. These heavy failures are affecting the mass of people more than one would naturally suppose they would. Making money matters rather tight. I never knew money to be quite as scarce as at present, since I came to Minn. A man with a few thousands to let could do a big thing this way just now. could get almost any interest he was a mind to ask.

This has been rather a hard winter thus far on cattle, especially young cattle. A great many throughout the State are dieing. I have only lost one head as yet. hope I shall not lose any more. The past twenty four hours has been the warmest we have had since the severe cold weather began. . . .

Next Monday eve there is to be a grand celebration in honor of the birth of George Washington, At Paynesville, County of Stearns and State of Minnesota, and the Paynesville Cornet Band is to open the

entertainment One of the members of Said Band, is the Honorable A E Bugbee esq^r. He plays the B flat Cornet. I have been trying everything during the past few years that I could think of to make money, even to Town Clerking. Have been town Clerk for two years, is no very great paying office, yet you know that every little helps. . . .

. . . What is grain worth with you this winter? Oats with us are worth, at present, .50 cts per bushel. Corn on ears, .30. Shelled .70. Wheat is almost a drug, is only fetching now .65. And that is the reason that Money matters are so tight. it ought at the least calculations, be bringing from \$1.00, to \$1.10 then there would be a great deal larger quantity on the market and money would consequently be more plenty. For Barley there is scarcely none to be sold. what there is, is bringing a good sound price. So much so that next year every one will go to raising it and then it will not be worth any price at all. Rye has no market whatever. As there is none raised to sell. Only a small quantity raised, and that is all consumed at home. Potatoes have all frozen up tighter than Davies Locker, so I guess they will bring a round price in the Spring. Mine are all frozen, but thank the kind stars I only had about 15 bushels just enough to last our selves, through, and now I am thinking we shall have to go without or else eat them frozen.

Do you do any hunting late years? if you want some good hunting, just come out here next fall about the first of September and stay till New Years and I will warrant that you will find hunting the likes of which you [n]ever saw before in your life. I am prepared for a good hunt next fall, have just bought me a splendid double barrel shot gun that is warranted to kill every time no matter how far off the game is that I am Shooting at. Even if it is as far off as you are. I believe I could hit your old Rooster from my South East Door. Any way you hold him out some fine morning and I will give him a trial. Well I guess I have written about as much nonsencical [sic] Stuff as you will care to answer, so I will close with many kind regard from all to all.

Your's truly

A E BUGBIE

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

On and Off the Campus. By GUY STANTON FORD. With a biographical introduction by GEORGE E. VINCENT. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1938. 511 p. Portrait. \$4.00.)¹

Dean Ford, acting president of the University of Minnesota, completes this year a quarter of a century's service as a leader in higher education. To celebrate that anniversary, the University of Minnesota Press has issued this stout volume, which contains a representative collection of his public speeches and of his writings. These papers, which combine the scholar's insight and sobriety with an artist's flexibility and grace, testify eloquently to Dean Ford's right to be considered one of the great liberal thinkers and educators of our time.

One theme runs consistently through all his observations. Whether Dean Ford is considering a problem of education, a crisis in national life, a historical tendency, or a casual manifestation of manners, what he sees behind the immediate issue is the warning of a need to defend our liberties against the overt or disguised attacks that are forever being made upon them.

He sees education, of course, as one of the great forces for the preservation of the gains that civilization has made. "Historical scholarship," he writes, "without the freedom to speak the truth about our national history would become here, as it has in many lands, a mute testimony of the decay of all scholarship and all liberty." In answering the question: "Are Revolutions Necessary?" he says: "the only possibility of avoiding the physical conflict is to maintain a free arena for its moral equivalent in free forums for conflicting opinions in the press and the pulpit and, more important in a democracy, on the street corners and in the schools and colleges." He warns those in places of high responsibility to remember that: "Ours is a breathless age of ceaseless change. A people that still burdens itself with outworn social dogmas cannot keep the pace." In one of his his-

¹ Mr. Gray's review appeared originally in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for May 13, 1938. *Ed.*

torical papers, he invites his readers to reconsider the significant fact that the law which embodied the idea of universal military service and which created the political philosophy of Europe had its inevitable fulfillment in the World War. In a newspaper editorial he has the staunch courage of the unyielding and unintimidated liberal to say: "The Babbitts who preach the maintenance of a bigger and better status quo will bring the revolution they fear quicker than any Third International operating from Moscow."

On and Off the Campus is intended to acknowledge the debt to Dean Ford which the University of Minnesota and the American Historical Association feel toward him. But the twenty-five years that have passed since he became professor of history and dean of the graduate school at Minnesota cover only half the period during which he has been actively concerned with cultivating the soil of thought. It was fifty years ago, in 1888, at the age of fifteen, that he enrolled in Upper Iowa University and discovered in himself passions for teaching, for the study of history, for debate. By 1898 he had acquired a bachelor of letters degree at Wisconsin and served for three years as superintendent of public schools at Grand Rapids. At twenty-five, with all that experience behind him, he went to Berlin to study for his doctorate; taught himself Latin to satisfy the requirements for the degree; wrote a thesis which Dr. George Edgar Vincent, in his foreword to this book, calls "lucid, forceful, vivid," totally unlike the average work of scholarship which is "written in a style so ponderous, pedantic and soporific as to baffle caricature." By 1907 he was a full professor of history at Illinois, already enjoying the admiration of his colleagues. In the increasing years, that admiration and confidence have brought him all the most valued honors that can be offered to a man in his field.

His unique position has attracted to him unusual duties and distinctions. During the war, he served in Washington as chief of the division of civic and educational publications of the Committee on Public Information. It was his job to tell America what the war was about. He did it with such dignity and with so unwavering a respect for truth, justice, and accuracy that he came unscathed through the fire of hysteria which scorched, blistered, and destroyed so many reputations.

Anyone who has sat in private conversation with Dean Ford knows

with what distinguished courtesy he approaches any problem of social intercourse; with what wit he probes into the subtleties of any topic; with what forthrightness and simplicity he conducts debate. There is obviously no division in his character between public and private individuality; between executive and thinker; between host and historian. In his book the same traits are to be discovered that have always been admired by his associates, intimate and casual. Here is revealed the sensibility of understanding, the staunchness of courage, the excellence of temper that belong to the true liberal.

JAMES GRAY

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

Great Indian Chiefs: A Study of Indian Leaders in the Two Hundred Year Struggle to Stop the White Advance. By ALBERT BRITT. (New York, Whittlesey House, 1938. xi, 280 p. Illustrations. \$2.50.)

This is a well-written and suggestive account of the personalities and the policies as well as the lives of eight celebrated leaders of the American Indians. Those discussed are King Philip, Joseph Brant, Pontiac, Tecumseh, Black Hawk, Sitting Bull, Captain Jack, and Chief Joseph. Others might have been included, had the book aimed at comprehensiveness: Geronimo, Satanta, Pushmataha, Osceola, for example. The story covers the period from 1675 to 1890. The author offers a preface, setting forth in general the tragedy of the Indian, explaining many aspects of the long struggle, the Indian's inability to accept white superiority or to believe in it, the white man's misconception of tribal organization, and the roots of the inevitable strife. This preface is scholarly, considered, and perhaps the best part of the book, though the author considers the Indian a vanishing race.

Throughout the book, the author is judicious and impartial, shunning dogmatism, and quoting freely from all the reliable sources, and some not so reliable. He makes no claim to firsthand acquaintance with the old-time Indian, or to understanding his racial or personal psychology. Critical, yet often sympathetic, he attempts the episodic and anecdotal method of portraiture. Though not strictly a popular work, the book is written in easy, lively, and graphic English. Probably the best compilation of its kind, with no more minor errors

than are to be expected in a compilation. Well illustrated. Bibliography. Endpaper maps. No index.

STANLEY VESTAL

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
NORMAN

Letters Relating to Gustaf Unonius and the Early Swedish Settlers in Wisconsin (Augustana Historical Society, *Publications*, vol. 7). Translated and edited by GEORGE M. STEPHENSON, professor of history, University of Minnesota, assisted by OLGA WOLD HANSEN. (Rock Island, Illinois, Augustana Historical Society, 1937. 151 p. \$2.00.)

In this little volume has been brought together a group of "America letters" covering a little more than a decade—from 1841 to 1853—of the period of early Swedish immigration. Though some were not written for publication, all appeared in newspapers in Sweden, and the editorial comments which have been included in the present edition add to the interest of the book.

The letters are delightfully varied and seem to have been selected very judiciously. They show clearly with what avidity the Swedish public swallowed all communications from America, as well as the difficulty prospective emigrants experienced in trying to get reliable information. They also give some glimpses of the cultural and religious interaction between America and Sweden. They are especially interesting, however, because of the light they throw on the reactions of the immigrants to American conditions—the speed with which the newcomers caught the spirit of the frontier, their interest in the politics of their new land, their admiration for things American on one side and on the other their sense of apartness. Most of the immigrants would no doubt have sympathized with the young man who did not want his brothers to "live with the Yankees," and they were on their guard against the American who "competes with the mosquitoes to bleed the emigrant." It is significant that the last three letters contain serious admonition against any hasty decision to emigrate.

As the main purpose of the writers was to help countrymen who were considering emigration, the letters contain much information about how to travel, how to avoid swindlers, what to bring along, liv-

ing conditions and prices, and the opportunities—or lack of them—open to newcomers. But there is also discussion of American politics and social conditions, as well as some intimations that all higher life was not lost under frontier conditions.

An American can learn much about his own country from the accounts of these late arrivals who give their fresh impression of things seen for the first time. This is especially true of the letters by Unonius, the longest and most significant in the collection and withal the most judicious and fair-minded.

In addition to the "America letters," the volume contains one contribution by Unonius to the theological controversies among the Swedish pioneers. In a way it seems out of harmony with the rest of the collection and loses some of its value by being isolated from other documents of a like nature. However, it shows how even the objectivity of Unonius gave way to acrimony in the midst of sharp conflict, and it pictures one phase of the life and personality of this prominent Swedish pioneer.

Professor Stephenson's introduction is centered upon Unonius. The author has drawn upon his wide knowledge of Swedish and Swedish-American history to condense within thirty-nine pages a mass of information. He discusses not only Unonius and his significant part in the Swedish emigration, but the whole emigration movement of his time. Much of the introduction is devoted to a rather detailed account of the church controversies in which Unonius became involved. The immigrants coming out of a state church found themselves in a fog with regard to church affairs out of which they fought their way to clarity with deep seriousness and tragic bitterness. The Swedes had much in common with other immigrant groups, and this gives a deeper significance to their history.

KAREN LARSEN

ST. OLAF COLLEGE
NORTHFIELD, MINNESOTA

Mr. Lord: The Life and Words of Livingston C. Lord. By ISABEL
McKINNEY. (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1937.
394 p. Illustrations.)

Just a century after Peter Pond completed his first season in the Minnesota Valley, another Connecticut Yankee appeared in the vicin-

ity to trade, not in furs, but in ideas. His biography is set forth in this volume, which devotes three chapters to his career as a teacher in the "Land of Cloudy Waters." From the often crude Minnesota schools of the late nineteenth century, Livingston C. Lord emerged as a distinguished educator.

Miss McKinney pictures his life after 1874 in three southern Minnesota communities — Winnebago City, Mankato, and St. Peter — where he served successively as principal of a five-room school in which he "taught all the high school subjects," principal of a grammar school, and superintendent of schools. When he left the rough Faribault County village to go to Mankato, he entered a community that boasted a "state normal school, a Y.M.C.A. lecture course, a Philathea Literary Society, a Longfellow Club, and numerous churches." In St. Peter, where he went in 1879, his ability as a flute player made him a welcome addition to a "small orchestra of really distinguished musicians," including the well-known violinist, Maximilian Dick. "We didn't play anything but the best," Lord recalled in describing this group. "For one thing, we played a Haydn symphony." He "introduced music into the St. Peter schools in 1880, when it was seldom found in the smaller school system; and he taught it in some rooms himself."

Lord's cultural activities naturally receive considerable attention, but many other phases of life in southern Minnesota also are touched upon. The student of child life, for example, will be interested to learn that during an unusually severe winter, the Lord children did not "seem to mind the cold at all," because their mother dressed them for the climate. "They wear thick flannel shirts, drawers and petticoats. Canton flannel waists, knit woolen stockings and flannel dresses," she reports in a letter of January 16, 1881. With the extreme cold came one of the terrible epidemics of diphtheria that ravaged Minnesota in the early eighties. To ward off the disease, Mrs. Lord was "giving the children sulpho-carbolate of soda," and her husband disinfected the "schoolhouse every morning by throwing sulphur in the furnaces."

The third of the Minnesota chapters deals with the decade following 1888, when Lord served as principal of the normal school at Moorhead. Once more he went to live in a raw, new town. When he arrived at Moorhead, not a street had been paved, "already sa-

loons predominated in the business district, and the town was swarming with 'thrashers.'" In the normal school, which boasted "one of the most commodious and beautiful" buildings in the Northwest, twenty-nine students enrolled on the opening day. Ten years later there were registered in its various departments a total of 378 pupils, a "truly American mixture" from the small towns and the large farms of the Red River Valley. In 1899 Lord left the scene of his successful effort to provide "an education for the teachers of Minnesota's children" to accept a post at Charleston, Illinois.

Much of the text of this volume is based upon Lord's own writings and recollections and upon family letters and other manuscripts. The story of his life is more than a chapter in the history of American education—it is a valuable addition to the social history of the Middle West.

BERTHA L. HEILBRON

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

Three Iron Mining Towns: A Study in Cultural Change. By PAUL H. LANDIS, associate professor of sociology, The State College of Washington. (Ann Arbor, Michigan, Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1938. viii, 148 p. \$1.75.)

The history of the forty-year-old towns of Hibbing, Virginia, and Eveleth has been traced by the author of this monograph to illustrate the cycles in the social life of mining towns. He describes a pioneering stage with a predominant masculine population, beginning to exploit the mineral resources. This is succeeded by a period in which a professional group settling in the towns demands more educational, recreational, and cultural opportunities, and the new program of taxation alters the relationship between townspeople and mining companies. A third phase is characterized by the leadership of these companies, and the end of the cycle for the mining industrial life is suggested in the estimated period before complete exhaustion of the ore. Efforts to develop tourist trade and agriculture suggest a program of substitute industries. The author has used local newspaper material to advantage in his historical sketch. Interesting details about Finnish and other immigrant labor groups are included.

Fictitious names are used for some of the persons discussed, and

in at least one instance a fictitious and an authentic name for two people in the same administration occur in the same sentence (p. 78). The manuscript thesis, of which this is a condensed publication, contains a key to all fictitious names, but without access to this the student of history is greatly handicapped in using the book. On page 27 the *Hibbing Sentinel* is called the *Iron Village Sentinel*, a mistake which apparently resulted from the use of the fictitious name in the original thesis.

This publication in photolithograph, with good chapter headings, subtitles, and summaries, makes a clear presentation of the results of the author's research.

EVADENE BURRIS SWANSON

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

A Chronicle of Claremont Township and Village: A History of Claremont, Dodge County, Minnesota. Edited by JESSIE MARSH BOWEN. (Claremont, Ladies Aid of the Claremont Presbyterian Church, 1937. 115 p. Illustrations.)

Here is a community history of unusual interest and merit. It covers the period from September, 1854, when the first settlers of the Dodge County township arrived, to 1937. The narrative is of value chiefly for its intimate glimpses of pioneer life as recalled by early residents. Here one may learn how the frontier homes and barns were built, how the houses were furnished, what the pioneers ate and wore, and how they kept house. Mrs. Bowen relates, for example, that:

Brooms were made of fine hazel brush. Some made rope by putting flax straws between boards and rubbing until the fiber separated enough to be twisted into a thick cord. Candles were the sole means of lighting the houses: each family had a candle-mold and made a supply of tallow candles whenever a beef creature was butchered. Soap was of home manufacture, made by leaching wood ashes and combining the lye with grease from meat scraps. . . . Soda was called *saleratus*, and was often made at home by burning corncobs carefully on the hearth and saving the ashes for cooking.

After the coming of the railroad, according to the writer, "yarn and cloth were available, but for some time men's hats and coats were about the only readymade apparel in the markets." Footwear was made by the local shoemaker, and "children's new copper-toed shoes

and red-topped boots were generally made an inch or two longer than the foot, to allow for growth." Most of the food "was raised on the land." "Eggs were 5c a dozen and butter brought 3c a pound when offered in trade at the stores."

The editor reveals that Dr. Horace P. Porter "gave Claremont its first paper, the 'Wind Mill', which he had printed in Kasson at his own expense and distributed to callers at his office." The first issue of the *Wind Mill*, which is dated December, 1874, is reproduced in facsimile from an original in the possession of Mr. Lewis McMartin. This rare early newspaper is only one of the sources used in the preparation of this village history. Others listed by Mrs. Bowen include early maps, school and church records, county archives, pictures, and "reminiscences, in the form of letters, notes and interviews, furnished by present and former Claremont residents.

B. L. H.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

MR. LEROY G. DAVIS ("Some Frontier Words and Phrases") is a lawyer in Sleepy Eye, Minnesota. He has a deep interest in the history of pioneer life, particularly in its social aspects in southern Minnesota, where he has lived since 1866. Several years earlier his parents settled near Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, after migrating westward from New York state. Readers of this magazine will recall an article by Mr. Davis telling of a diphtheria epidemic in a Minnesota frontier community (*ante*, 15:434-438). His most recent publication is a volume of poetry entitled *Sagas of the Old Northwest* (1937). Dr. Charles W. Nichols ("Henry M. Nichols and Frontier Minnesota") concludes in this issue the story of his grandfather's career in the frontier West. Dr. Nichols was born in Belchertown, Massachusetts, where his grandfather taught in a district school in 1846-47 and his grandmother spent her girlhood. Dr. Nichols' youth was spent in the East, which he left in 1907 when he joined the faculty of the University of Minnesota. Thus he migrated to the same region and community that his grandparents went to in the 1850's. Mr. Frank E. Ross ("The Fur Trade of the Western Great Lakes Region") is historical research supervisor of the Indiana Historical Records Survey and research and editorial assistant for the Indiana Historical Bureau and the Indiana Historical Society in Indianapolis. He served as a member of the research staff of the *Dictionary of American Biography* from 1927 to 1933. Mr. Willis H. Miller ("The Biography of a Piano") is a student at St. Olaf College. He resides at Hudson, Wisconsin. The reviewers include Mr. James Gray of St. Paul, the distinguished literary critic and novelist; Stanley Vestal—Professor Walter S. Campbell of the University of Oklahoma—well-known authority on the American Indians and biographer of Sitting Bull; Professor Karen Larsen of St. Olaf College, the author of *Laur. Larsen: Pioneer College President*; Mrs. Gustav Swanson, a graduate student in the University of Minnesota; and Miss Bertha L. Heilbron, the assistant editor of this magazine.

That the summer tours of the Minnesota Historical Society combine "interestingly a pleasurable outing . . . with authoritative information regarding historical backgrounds of the regions visited" is the opinion of the writer of an editorial in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 2. "It is possible on such tours not only to emphasize various interesting incidents in the record of the past," he asserts, "but also to fix them firmly in mind by pointing out the very spots where they occurred. The local record and, in a sense, history in its entirety, take on the vigor of real life in such a presentation." He remarks that the summer tours "have been a most successful feature of the state historical society's annual programs," and he notes that a similar program is being advocated by Mr. Fred W. Johnson of New Ulm for the Brown County Historical Society. "With the wealth of interesting early lore which marks so many sections of Minnesota," the editorial concludes, "the idea seems to be one which will combine profit and pleasure for residents of any community."

Commenting on Cecil O. Monroe's survey of "The Rise of Baseball in Minnesota" chiefly after the Civil War, which appeared in the June issue of this magazine, Roy W. Swanson writes as follows in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for June 17:

The game was at least 20 years old by the time the war started. It will be recalled that last year Cooperstown, N. Y., celebrated the centennial of the national game it claims had its beginnings in that community.

But even though the Civil war may have interrupted the local development of the game, the great conflict itself was to serve as an impetus to baseball's spread and popularity. For baseball followed the armies. Some years ago Will Irwin searched the records for traces of baseball on the battlefields North and South, and found that the boys were ardent devotees of the game. The Army of the Potomac turned to baseball as a mainstay while on the Peninsula. Mr. Irwin notes a game at Fort Fisher, where in the middle of an inning the players had to take to their muskets. The boys in blue played ball in the camps and in the Confederate prisons. It was through the Army that interest, at first mainly Eastern, was spread through the other sections. Men of Ohio, Indiana, and Minnesota picked up the game from the men from New York, and men of Georgia and South Carolina watched and learned in Federal prisons. When the armies were demobilized in 1865, they brought home an enthusiasm for the game which was to result in a rapid and widespread growth of baseball clubs.

In Minnesota, as in other states, the game did not become popular until after the war, although teams did exist earlier in Nininger and St. Paul. Mr. Swanson concludes that "It is possible that the Civil

war truly 'nationalized' the game, for it is in this post-war period that we encounter references to baseball as the national sport." Here, too, Minnesota ran true to form, for General Sibley predicted that baseball would become a national sport when he accepted the presidency of the Minnesota State Association of Base Ball Players in 1867.

One life member, John S. Pillsbury of Minneapolis, two sustaining members, Carl F. Hellström of Minneapolis and John W. Riddle of Farmington, Connecticut, and fifteen annual members joined the society between April 1 and June 30. The names of the annual members follow: Samuel G. Bridges of Moorhead, William F. Duffy of Shakopee, Magnus P. Ekberg of St. Paul, John T. Frederick of Chicago, Dan W. Greenburg of Cheyenne, Wyoming, R. E. Hodgson of Waseca, Lillian Livingston of Balaton, Rodney C. Loehr of St. Paul, Horace T. Morse of Minneapolis, Charles W. Nichols of Minneapolis, Frank M. Rarig of Minneapolis, Paul H. Struck of Minneapolis, Judge Alfred L. Thwing of Grand Rapids, Lillian Turnblad of Minneapolis, and Richard A. Wingquist of St. Paul.

The society lost ten active members by death in the quarter ending on June 30: Mrs. Ell Torrance of Minneapolis, April 10; Herbert C. Hotaling of Mapleton, April 15; Lars Backe of Thief River Falls, April 20; Gerald H. Burgess of Minneapolis, April 29; Mrs. John W. Daniels of Dellwood, White Bear Lake, June 5; Arthur R. Rogers of Minneapolis, June 9; Frederick R. Angell of St. Paul, June 10; Henry F. Douglas of Minneapolis, June 12; and George R. Martin of Minneapolis, June 20. George Bird Grinnell of New York City, a corresponding member, died on April 11.

"Immigration and the Westward Movement in Ballad and Song" was the subject of an address presented by the superintendent before the Montparnasse Club of St. Paul on April 11, the Augustana Historical Society and the American Scandinavian Foundation at Rock Island, Illinois, on May 5, the Wisconsin Education Association at Madison on May 7, and the Twin City Library Club in Minneapolis on May 16. He spoke on the Brown County Historical Society and the work of its president at a meeting of the society in New Ulm on April 20; on "The Community and the Pioneer Tradition" be-

fore the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the League of Minnesota Municipalities, which was held at International Falls on June 9; on "Little Discoveries in a Great Past" at the College of St. Catherine in St. Paul on June 22; and at a Swedish tercentenary banquet at the Hotel Radisson in Minneapolis on June 4. As part of a program commemorating the centennial of the founding of St. Paul, Mr. Babcock gave talks on "Father Galtier and the Beginnings of St. Paul" before the Galtier Memorial Association and the Daughters of Isabella on April 4 and 25, and for pupils from St. Paul schools on May 2 and 5. He presented an "Illustrated Ramble through Minnesota History" at a meeting of the Junior Pioneer Association of St. Paul on June 8, spoke on the "Romance of Minnesota" before the ladies' auxiliary of the Railway Mail Clerks in Minneapolis on May 4, and discussed "Fort Snelling and Henry H. Sibley" before students from Michigan attending the University of Minnesota on June 30. Miss Ackermann spoke on "Pioneer Women" before the Prospect Park Study Club of Minneapolis on April 4, on "Cataloguing Manuscripts" before the cataloguer's section of the Twin City Library Club on May 10, and on the "Organization and Preservation of Manuscripts by the Minnesota Historical Society" before a section of the American Library Association meeting at Kansas City on June 16.

The superintendent was among the speakers who paid tribute to Dr. Guy Stanton Ford at a dinner given by the social science faculties of the University of Minnesota on May 9 in honor of his completion of twenty-five years of service as dean of the graduate school of the university. Dr. Blegen is the author of the preface to a volume of essays by Dean Ford—*On and Off the Campus*—which was published in honor of the occasion and presented to him at the dinner. The volume is reviewed *ante*, p. 328-330.

Mr. Babcock represented the society at a regional archaeological conference held at the University of Chicago on June 12. Representatives of six states who attended planned a co-operative study of the Indian tribes of the upper Mississippi Valley, and organized for that purpose the Upper Mississippi Valley Ethno-History Committee, with Dr. Fay Cooper-Cole of Chicago as chairman.

ACCESSIONS

Professor Charles W. Nichols of the University of Minnesota has presented the valuable collection of diaries and family papers which he used in preparing the articles on the career of his grandfather, Henry M. Nichols, that appear in the June and present issues of MINNESOTA HISTORY. As indicated in the earlier article, the papers are rich in material relating to the beginnings of the Northampton Colony in Minnesota in 1852 and 1853. Nichols was an advance agent of the colony, a home missionary on the Minnesota frontier, and a minister at St. Anthony, Stillwater, and Minneapolis—services that are recorded in detail in his diaries. These little leather-bound books cover the period, with the exception of the year 1850, from August, 1846, to the end of June, 1860, a few days before the diarist's death. His papers include the manuscripts of many of his sermons and the texts of numerous lectures delivered before lyceum, Y.M.C.A., and other pioneer cultural groups. There are scores of letters, both from members of the family in New England and from Nichols' associates in Minnesota, including Edward D. Neill. Fortunately the letters that Nichols, his wife, and their young son sent east from Minnesota, with their vivid pictures of pioneer life and social and cultural activity, were preserved at Belchertown, Massachusetts, and were added to the papers and diaries accumulated in the West. A daguerreotype of Nichols and an ambrotype of his wife, both taken at Stillwater in the fifties, are included in the gift.

Large collections of papers of the Harrington and Pendergast families of Hutchinson have been photographed for the society through the courtesy of Mrs. H. L. Merrill, Mrs. Sophie White, and Mrs. Edward F. Sitz of Hutchinson. Included are several thousand letters written to Lewis Harrington and his wife, Ellen Pendergast Harrington; and smaller groups written by William H. Harrington, a teacher at Excelsior in the fifties; Timothy H. Pendergast, a soldier in the Civil War; William W. Pendergast, state superintendent of public instruction from 1893 to 1899; Warren W. Pendergast, who took charge of the agricultural experiment station at Grand Rapids in 1896; and several members of the Hutchinson family. Most of the letters were written in the decades from 1850 to 1890. Copies

have been made also of diaries kept by John Harrington from 1838 to 1857 and by Solomon Pendergast from 1846 to 1869, of lists of personal possessions lost by the Pendergasts in 1862, when their house and school were destroyed by the Sioux, and of letters from John H. Stevens, William R. Marshall, and other prominent Minnesotans.

A reminiscent narrative by Julia A. Wood, who was widely known for her writings under the pseudonym of "Minnie Mary Lee," is the gift of her grandson, Mr. George C. Hineline of Minneapolis. Mrs. Wood and her husband, William H. Wood, settled at Sauk Rapids in 1851 and there they established a newspaper known as the *New Era*. Her reminiscences include accounts of the trip to Sauk Rapids and of the founding of the paper, and they record the impressions made upon this frontier newspaperwoman by traders, missionaries, and pioneers, such as William A. Aitken, Sherman Hall, Frederic Ayer, and William W. Warren. Mr. Hineline also has presented four letters written by his grandfather, and he has allowed the society to photograph a scrapbook, in his possession, of articles by Mrs. Wood reflecting her views on feminism, woman suffrage, and Catholicism.

Minnesota City, Wabasha, Homer, and St. Paul are among the Mississippi River towns of the fifties described in items of Minnesota interest gleaned from a file of the *New York Tribune* in the Boston Public Library and recently transcribed for the society. "If an engineer of the Imperial Polytechnic Institute had been employed to devise and design the most outlandish, awkward, broken-back, *skewed-angular* plan for a town that human ingenuity could devise, he could not have succeeded so well as has been done" at St. Paul, according to a writer for the *Tribune* of December 24, 1852. A number of items that appeared in 1878 and 1879 in the *Advance*, a newspaper published at Chicago and New York, also have been copied.

A photostatic copy of a letter written by Isaac I. Stevens on June 10, 1853, while he was engaged in the Pacific railroad survey from Minnesota to the west coast is the gift of Mr. Charles M. Gates of the University of Washington. Stevens reports upon having a "most interesting companion in Pierre Boutineau, the great guide and voyageur of Minnesota. He is famous as a buffalo hunter, is a Chippewa

half Breed and surpasses all of his clan in intelligence, truthfulness." The original letter is owned by the University of Washington.

Five letters written in 1855, 1858, and 1859 by Benjamin Densmore have been added to his papers by the Misses Margaret and Frances Densmore of Red Wing (see *ante*, 16:469). In the earliest letter, Densmore notes that "There is a great rush for Minnesota this spring—every boat brings its load of emigrants—from two to five hundred in number," and he reports that "with the boats so crowded some among the passengers die of cholera on every trip." Among the subjects touched upon in the later letters are an excursion to St. Paul when the railroad from Milwaukee to La Crosse was completed, a proposed wagon route to the Fraser River gold mines, and a student exhibition at Hamline University in Red Wing.

Programs of concerts given by members of the Hutchinson family, the musicians who founded the town that bears their name, are included in a small collection of family papers which has been copied on filmstrips through the courtesy of Mr. W. S. Clay of Hutchinson. Among other items in the collection are bills and accounts kept by Asa B. Hutchinson in Massachusetts, Minnesota, and Colorado, his will, land deeds, tax receipts, and letters written by Abby Hutchinson Anderson and her husband, S. G. Anderson.

Fifteen letters written between 1858 and 1863 by Sylvanus B. Lowry, a St. Cloud pioneer, to his wife have been copied by the photographic process from the originals in the possession of Mrs. William Wacha of Stanton, Michigan. Some references to Minnesota politics and to Jane Grey Swisshelm, with whom Lowry clashed in 1858, occur in the letters.

A diary kept by John Young and seven letters that he wrote to his wife at Belle Plaine while he was serving as a member of Company A, Fourth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, in the Civil War have been photographed from the originals in the possession of his grandson, Mr. Henry Young of Cokato.

Some twenty letters written between 1868 and 1872 by Irvin Grant while he was engaged as a telegraph operator at Le Roy in Mower County have been photographed for the society from the originals in the possession of Mrs. Nellie Christianson of St. Paul.

A volume of minutes of meetings of the Litchfield Cemetery Association and of its board of directors in the period between 1870 and 1890 has been photographed through the courtesy of the association.

A diary kept by Mr. Nimrod Barrick from 1871 to 1932, during much of which time he was engaged in farming near Greenleaf in Meeker County, has been photographed for the society through his courtesy. The entries include records of prices, wages, weather conditions, and the diarist's activities as a member of the town and school boards.

A list of early settlers in Meeker County, giving information on the date and place of birth and the date of settlement, is included in the minute book of the Meeker County Old Settlers Association, which has been photographed for the society through the courtesy of Mr. H. I. Peterson of Litchfield. The association met at intervals from 1872 to 1932, when it was superseded by the Meeker County Historical Society.

Lists of marriages, baptisms, funerals, and church members, and minutes of meetings are to be found in a volume of parish records of the Congregational Church of Mapleton for the years from 1882 to 1902, presented through the courtesy of Mr. U. S. Argetsinger of Mapleton.

Three volumes of minutes of meetings of the Rover's Club of Excelsior, a social club consisting of entire families, have been presented through the courtesy of Miss Nettie Rose of Excelsior. The records cover the years from 1903 to 1917 and from 1919 to 1935.

Letters and clippings relating to the musical career from 1904 to 1934 of Mrs. Beatrice Gjertsen Bessesen, a native of Minneapolis who was widely known as an operatic singer in Europe, are to be found in a scrapbook presented by her husband, Dr. William A. Bessesen of Minneapolis. Items about concerts given in the United States and about her activities in organizing conservatories of music in Albert Lea and Minneapolis are included. Dr. Bessesen also has presented several photographs of his wife and some of the costumes that she wore when singing operatic roles.

Some records of the Columbian Club of Minneapolis, consisting of two volumes of minutes of meetings for the years from 1921 to 1926, the constitution, bylaws, and lists of members, have been presented by the secretary, Mrs. A. O. Lindquist of Minneapolis.

Two volumes of records of the Minnesota Academy of Medicine, containing lists of members and proceedings for the years between 1923 and 1931—the latter clipped from the *Journal-Lancet*—have been presented by the organization through the courtesy of Miss Goldie Crever of Minneapolis. They supplement the minutes of meetings for the period between 1887 and 1923 previously in the society's possession.

The archaeological investigation conducted on the site of Fort Ridgely in 1936 and 1937 by the National Park Service in cooperation with the Minnesota department of conservation is the subject of a report prepared by G. Hubert Smith, senior foreman-archaeologist stationed at Fort Ridgely State Park, and received through his courtesy. It is accompanied by copies of the original plans for the fort, photographs of the excavations, and a list of objects found on the site.

A copy of a doctoral dissertation on "The Development of the Minnesota Road System," recently submitted at the University of Minnesota by Arthur J. Larsen, the society's newspaper librarian, has been presented by the author. Term papers on the "Hazelwood Republic" by Harriet C. Bell and on the "Czechs in Minnesota" by Ruth Nordberg, which were prepared at the University in 1937, are the gifts of the respective authors.

A "History of the Manufacture of Barbed Wire Fencing" by Arthur G. Warren has been photographed for the society through the courtesy of the Industrial Museum of the American Steel and Wire Company of Worcester, Massachusetts, which owns the original document. The author has compiled abstracts of the patents relating to barbed-wire fencing that are recorded in the museum's files.

A copy of a rare Minnesota newspaper, the *American Railway Union* of St. Paul for July, 1894, and several issues of the *Minnesota Social Democratic Bulletin* published in Minneapolis in 1900 are in-

cluded in a collection of labor and socialist papers received from Mr. George B. Leonard of Minneapolis.

A large number of Indian arrowheads, spearheads, and spades, and an ax, all of stone, have been added to the archaeological collection by Miss Anna Klint of Minneapolis. She has also presented a brass kettle.

A model of a logging sled made in 1884 is the gift of Mrs. Percy Lawrence of Minneapolis. Mr. Edmund Quickenden of St. Paul has presented a carpenter's gauge used about 1850.

A mahogany sewing box with fittings of silver and mother-of-pearl dating from 1830, a wax doll dressed in the costume of Red Riding-hood, and articles of clothing worn in the decades from 1820 to 1860, including shawls, scarves, fichus, handkerchiefs, reticules, a woman's silk dress, a child's embroidered dress, and infants' bonnets, have been presented by Miss F. M. Saunders of Brighton, England, through the courtesy of Mrs. C. H. Bigelow of St. Paul. A graduating dress of 1881, silk mitts, wedding slippers, gloves, fans, and hats are among the items from the estate of the late Mrs. George E. Tuttle received through the courtesy of Mr. Robert Tuttle of Minneapolis. A silk crazy quilt made in the 1880's is the gift of Miss Frances Densmore of Red Wing. Miss Elizabeth Foss of Minneapolis has presented several items of china, including a large platter dated 1878 and a pap-boat.

A large oil portrait of the late Senator Frank B. Kellogg of St. Paul has been presented by Mrs. Kellogg. A view of the Chapel of St. Paul is the gift of Mrs. Cornelia Abbott of New York City; and a group picture of members of the faculty of Carleton College in 1888-90 has been received from Mr. R. B. Goodhue of Dennison.

NEWS AND COMMENT

AT A MEETING of the American Historical Association at Providence in 1936, Roy F. Nichols, Bernard DeVoto, John A. Krout, and A. M. Schlesinger participated in a discussion centering about the treatment of American social history in the *History of American Life* series. Under the editorship of William E. Lingelbach, who supplies the foreword, and with the "Remarks of the Chairman," Ralph H. Gabriel, the comments of these speakers have now been published as a volume of essays, with the general title, *Approaches to American Social History* (New York, 1937). "A Political Historian Looks at Social History" is Professor Nichols' contribution; Mr. DeVoto discusses the "Interrelations of History and Literature"; Professor Krout presents some "Reflections of a Social Historian"; and Professor Schlesinger gives "An Editor's Second Thoughts" on the planning of the *History of American Life*. The volumes of this work, in Mr. DeVoto's opinion, give a "more complexly integrated and therefore more usable account of America" than any previously written.

Dr. Solon J. Buck, director of publications for the National Archives and former superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, is one of two official delegates from the United States attending the eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences meeting at Zurich, Switzerland, from August 28 to September 4. Dr. Buck also will serve as chairman of the American delegation to the fourteenth International Conference on Documentation at Oxford, England, from September 21 to 26. While he is abroad, Dr. Buck will visit archival establishments in Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, and England.

"Agriculture is more than an occupation; it is a way of living. Consequently, it deals with a host of topics relating to farm life." Thus write Harry J. Carman and Rexford G. Tugwell in an essay on "The Significance of American Agricultural History," which appears in the April issue of *Agricultural History*. Among the subjects in need of investigation suggested by these authors are "types

of houses and surroundings, furnishings, conveniences, rural manners, morals, social customs, and religious practices," amusements enjoyed in rural communities, the "country tavern and the county fair . . . rural health, farm organizations, rural education, and the farm press."

Dr. Albert E. Jenks continues his discussion of the "Minnesota man" in the *American Anthropologist* for April-June, where he publishes "A Reply to a Review by Dr. Aleš Hrdlička" appearing in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*. Dr. Jenks defends the conclusions set forth in his recent volume on *Pleistocene Man in Minnesota* (see *ante*, 18: 104).

The Michigan Historical Commission has published a brief manual for *County Historical Societies: Information Desired in Compiling County Histories* (12 p.). It also contains suggestions that should prove useful to the curators of local historical museums.

Reports prepared by Elaine Goodale while serving as a teacher on a Dakota Indian reservation in 1887 and 1888 and as supervisor of education among the Sioux in 1890 are reprinted from the *Reports of the commissioner of Indian affairs in the South Dakota Historical Review* for July, 1937. An autobiographical sketch of the writer of these reports, who became the wife of the distinguished Sioux physician and author, Dr. Charles Eastman, appears in the same issue.

An account of the activities of "Monseigneur Baraga" as a missionary among the Chippewa is contributed by Alexandre Dugré to the January issue of *Le Messager Canadien du Sacré-Coeur*.

An intimate picture of life at early American Fur Company posts in northern Minnesota is presented in some letters of Samuel Ashmun, Jr., and John H. Fairbank, clerks who left Montreal with the brigade of 1818, which appear under the title "With the American Fur Company in the Michilimackinac Dependencies, 1818-1822," in the May issue of the *Moorsfield Antiquarian*. Both men came from Champlain, New York, and both reported on their western experiences to a friend living in that place. For a time after their arrival at Mackinac they were not particularly busy, and it was then that Ashmun wrote: "as we have an extensive library at our Leisure I of course spend the greater part of my time in reading and so make myself quite at home." In August he went to his "wintering post"

in the Fond du Lac department. There, Ashmun "found Cows that afforded Butter through the winter a crop of nearly 200 Bushels of potatoes 1200 lbs of sugar which with the provision we carry" and the fish and game available provided excellent fare for the traders. Both Ashmun and Fairbank were at Sandy Lake in July, 1820, when members of the Cass expedition visited that post. "The object of this expedition is to find out the Source of the Mississippi and to make Some treaties with the Indian[s]," writes Fairbank. According to Ashmun, the explorers "appeared Much surprized after so long a voyage to find a fort and Conveniences in this wilderness but More particularly Chairs and Beds." Fairbank remained in the Northwest as a trader, married there, and died at the White Earth Reservation in 1880. His manuscript recollections, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, are noted in the editorial comments that accompany the letters. There are grave limitations upon historical use that can be made of this newly published material, for the source from which the original letters were obtained and their present location are not mentioned. Of Northwest interest also is the journal of George M. McGill, which is published in the February issue of the *Antiquarian*. It appears under the title "From Allegheny to Lake Superior" and describes a journey made by a boy of fourteen in the summer of 1852. The diarist tells of his visit to Sault Ste. Marie, of a steamboat race in which the men "exerted themselves so much to keep ahead that they . . . not only burned up all their wood but half a barrel of good sweet butter," of passing near "Portage bay, which has never yet had the honor of having a Steamboat on its bosom," and of visiting the copper mines near Ontonogen.

Methods followed in "Supplying the Frontier Military Posts" of the West, particularly in the sixties, are discussed by Raymond L. Welty in an interesting article which appears in the *Kansas Historical Quarterly* for May. "The vast majority of the army stores were transported by contractors to the various depots established on the great routes of overland travel," writes Mr. Welty. "The contractors or freighting companies were the merchants of the overland trade" and their business reached its high point in the years from 1863 to 1866. The writer tells not only how supplies were transported, but he describes the rations and equipment with which the

American soldier on the frontier was furnished. He points out that "the establishment of a military post in a region created a market for grains, horses, mules and cattle." Staples, however, were "purchased in the large market cities such as St. Paul, Chicago, San Francisco, St. Louis and New Orleans."

"The greatest American archbishop I ever met was John Ireland of St. Paul," writes Shane Leslie in his *American Wonderland: Memories of Four Tours in the United States of America (1911-1935)* (London, 1936). "He had been a pioneer of the North-West. He went there in a wagon with a wave of Irish immigrants, and lived to see it carved up by great railroads and dioceses."

Under the title *A Review and a Challenge*, the Norwegian-American Historical Association has issued an account of its history and achievements since its organization in 1925 (Northfield, 1938). Included are statements of the aims of the association and of its activities in the collecting of documents, the establishment of a museum, the promoting of research, and publication. Lists of its many publications and of articles and documents that have been included in its *Studies and Records* series appear in the appendix.

The Story of Major David McKee, Founder of the Anti-Horse Thief Association is reviewed by Hugh C. Gresham in a recently published pamphlet (1937. 80 p.). In February, 1864, a decade after McKee founded the association and only a few months after he organized the national order in Clark County, Missouri, a Waseca County branch was established at Wilton, Minnesota (see *ante*, 13: 153-157).

The "Census of 1838" taken in Wisconsin Territory in May of that year is the subject of a brief article by Marie Haefner in the May issue of the *Palimpsest*. "This count, completed just at the time Congress was creating the Territory of Iowa, afforded as accurate a measure of the rapidly changing population as was possible," according to the writer. She gives a list of twenty-one Iowa counties included in the enumeration, with figures on their populations. The "Fort Snelling community," in a district that was not yet open to settlement, is included in the figures for Clayton County. There, writes Miss Haefner, were listed sixty-two men and eight women

"who were possibly not permanent residents, for the census taker noted that these seventy might be added 'if required.'" Their votes, however, played a significant part in the territorial election of 1838, when W. W. Chapman was named "Delegate to Congress from Iowa Territory," according to an article by Kenneth E. Colton in the *Annals of Iowa* for April. The final result of the election, which was held on September 10, 1838, was "uncertain for a long time, due to the slow returns from St. Peter's precinct," writes Mr. Colton. "When Chapman was officially declared the winner, sometime in October, his trip to Washington was necessarily a hasty one."

The State Historical Society of Iowa has published, under the title *I Am a Man: The Indian Black Hawk*, Cyrenus Cole's sympathetic biography of the great Sauk chief (Iowa City, 1938. 312 p.). The volume marks the centennial of the death of Black Hawk, whose exploits are closely linked with the story of the territory created in 1838.

The "Illinois State Archives Building" is the subject of an article by Margaret C. Norton in the *American Archivist* for April. Methods of "Manuscript Repair in European Archives" in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, and Italy are described by L. Herman Smith.

Minnesota shares with its neighbor to the east several of the scenic assets described by Fred L. Holmes in his volume entitled *Alluring Wisconsin: The Historic Glamor and Natural Loveliness of an American Commonwealth* (Milwaukee, 1937. 480 p.). Entire chapters are devoted to St. Croix Falls and Interstate Park, "Millstones of the Gods," and the Mississippi, "Fringe of Majesty." As the title indicates, the author exploits both the scenic features and historic backgrounds of the state. Elaborate illustrations add greatly to the interest of the volume, which should prove a valuable guide for tourists.

How "State Boundaries in the Old Northwest" were established between 1787 and 1848 is explained by Joseph Schafer in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March. "In fixing Wisconsin's northwestern boundary," he writes, "congress . . . violated article V of the ordinance [of 1787] which provides that 'not less than three nor more than five' states shall be formed in the Northwest territory.

It actually formed five and left enough territory over to make another—almost." An excellent map showing the "Northwestern States as Planned and as They Are" accompanies Dr. Schafer's article.

Many Minnesota connections are brought out in a *History of Pierce County, Wisconsin*, which is bounded on the west by the Mississippi River and Lake Pepin (1937. 92 p.). Most of the explorers mentioned went west and north into the Minnesota country; the steamboats that transported early settlers to Pierce County were bound for St. Paul; and river towns, such as Prescott and Maiden Rock, look out across the water on the Minnesota scene. The narrative, which is designed for use in the common schools of the county, includes many useful suggestions for teachers.

The legal and juridical problems which confronted the Canadian merchants in their exploitation of the western fur trade are clearly analyzed by Dr. Hilda M. Neatby in *The Administration of Justice under the Quebec Act*, recently published by the University of Minnesota Press (1937. 383 p.). Many elements in the situation are considered. The system of courts is described, and mention is made of the steps taken to provide for the settlement of disputes arising in sparsely settled regions on the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. The uncertainties attending the adaptation of substantive and procedural law derived from French and British sources are explained, and illustrated with well-chosen examples. The conditions under which the courts operated are set forth with especial reference to the necessity of depending upon untrained men, and the effects of political dissensions which had their roots in diverse economic interests and in the conflicting loyalties of "old subjects" and French Canadians. The author's conclusion is that while the difficulties of administering in Canada were great, the Quebec Act provided a workable compromise on the basis of which a satisfactory legal system might have been developed. It is her view that political rivalries largely explain the failure of responsible officials to inaugurate the needed reforms.

CHARLES M. GATES

Readers of Professor Turner's essay on "The Rise and Fall of New France," which was reprinted in the issue of this magazine for December, 1937, will be interested in Professor Stephen Leacock's

interpretation of "French Canada" in the May number of *Globe*. He contends that since the British conquest of Canada, the French who live there have enjoyed what he describes as a "revenge of the cradle." Among the British, "immigration made the population." But the "block of 70,000" French in Canada at the time of the conquest has grown by natural increase "to a sort of 'nation,' without boundaries or outlines, of over four million people." Professor Leacock points out that for a time "immigration growth of the English hemmed and choked French Canada. It took from it the Northwest where the French half-breeds (*métis*) were the first comers. French St. Boniface was a pious village of 600 souls when Winnipeg was a sort of Shacketown where you could buy drinks. French was the language, with the Scotch of Hudson's Bay as Lords of the manor. All that passed. Immigrants flooded in. The rebellion of 1885 was, in part, a last despairing protest." The writer predicts, however, that "now things may change," for "immigration has stopped dead and the cradle goes right on."

In a study of "The Hudson's Bay Company and Anglo-American Military Rivalries during the Oregon Dispute," which appears in the *Canadian Historical Review* for September, 1937, C. P. Stacey gives considerable attention to American activity in the Minnesota country. Captain Edwin V. Sumner's meeting with the Red River half-breeds in 1845, the establishment of an American Fur Company post at Pembina, and the presence of United States troops at Fort Snelling and later at Fort Ripley were among the causes of alarm on the part of officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, according to the writer. He presents evidence to show that in October, 1845, Sir George Simpson recommended the establishment of a military post in the Red River settlement, "as a means of protection against the inhabitants of the Settlement." It was believed that the "appearance of the blue-coated dragoons" under Sumner near the international boundary "was indicative of the steadily increasing strength of hostile influences which henceforth would be constantly at work undermining the company's prestige and encouraging discontented elements in the population of its territories."

The historic backgrounds of Fort William were exploited by Mr. J. P. Bertrand of Port Arthur in an address presented before a meet-

ing of the Thunder Bay Historical Society at Fort William on April 6. The speaker asserted that "Fort William is not making the most of its historical background," and he "suggested that part of the old fort here be rebuilt," and that the "name of Syndicate avenue be changed to La Verendrye avenue."

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

Under the direction of Mr. Richard R. Sackett, an archaeologist employed by the Minnesota division of state parks, workers engaged in a WPA project have been excavating on the site of the home of Joseph R. Brown near Renville. The house was burned by the Indians in the Sioux Outbreak of 1862. From the site were removed tons of earth, granite blocks, handmade brick, lime, and mortar, and beneath this debris were found the charred remains of the furnishings of the frontier mansion. Among the objects recovered are the metal parts of a grand piano, fragments of a sewing machine, knives, forks, spoons, bits of china and glassware, parts of lamps, coil springs from upholstered furniture, parts of three stoves, kitchen utensils, and flat-irons. It is interesting to note that many of the articles found are included in an inventory of "property destroyed by the Indians," prepared by Mrs. Brown shortly after the outbreak. The original of this document is among the Brown Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Plans are now under way for reconstructing the Brown mansion. The site has been made a state park, and the rebuilt house will be used as a local historical museum.

In a concise review of *Historic Fort Snelling*, Major John R. Holt traces the story of the Minnesota post back to the selection of the site by Lieutenant Pike, its founding by Colonel Leavenworth, and its building under Colonel Snelling (1938. 39 p.). Among the subjects touched upon are Indian treaties at the fort, the fur trade of the vicinity, the pioneer missionaries, early settlers on the reservation, the sale of the reservation, the reoccupation of the fort, and regiments that have been stationed there. The author gives special attention to several characters who figured in the history of the post, including Major Lawrence Taliaferro, Dr. Edward Purcell, Dred Scott, and Count Zeppelin. The booklet is a useful guide for tourists who visit the military post at the mouth of the Minnesota.

The centennial of the arrival at Fort Snelling of its first United States army chaplain, the Reverend Ezekiel G. Gear, was marked with special services at the fort chapel on June 5. The program commemorated also the tenth anniversary of the dedication of the chapel.

An address presented by Judge Bert Fesler before the Minnesota Arrowhead Association, meeting in Duluth on May 6, has been published in pamphlet form under the title, *The Arrowhead Country before It Became Famous* (16 p.). He tells of the Indians of the region, of French, British, and American explorers and traders, of early maps on which the district was shown, and of the boundary controversies in which it was involved. He also suggests some books for the general reader relating to the region.

Under the title "Gold! Then a Rush to Vermilion," Nathan Cohen contributes to the *Duluth News-Tribune* of April 3 a feature article about the Vermilion Lake gold rush of 1866-67. He points out that many of the men who failed to find gold in the sixties lived to see "Vermilion's gold trail become the iron road." Some "Indian Romances" of traders, missionaries, and other frontiersmen in the Lake Superior country are the subject of a feature article in the same paper for May 15. Several of Eastman Johnson's pictures of Indian women at Fond du Lac are reproduced with the article from originals in the possession of the St. Louis County Historical Society.

The history of the nine-foot channel on the Mississippi below the Falls of St. Anthony is concisely presented in the May issue of *Old Man River*, a publication of the United States engineer office at St. Paul. The story of the adoption of the nine-foot channel is outlined, dams completed and projected in the St. Paul district are listed and described, and pictures of "completed projects" are included. In the April number of *Old Man River*, the "Diary of a 1870 Road Builder," George R. Stuntz, originally published in the *Report* of the United States chief of engineers for 1870, appears in a version condensed by M. H. Berg. Stuntz kept his record while engaged in building a road from Duluth to Lake Vermilion in the summer of 1869. Conditions existing "On the River Eighty Years Ago" are described by L. E. Wood in the June number of the same publication. An interesting item included here is a list of "rates in effect between Galena and St. Paul" in June, 1856.

A pageant centering about the Viking story told in the inscription on the Kensington rune stone was presented at Alexandria from June 22 to 25. "The Story of the Kensington Runestone" is the subject of a detailed and interesting article by Constant Larson, which appears in the *Alexandria Citizen-News* for June 9 and 16.

The Swedish-American tercentenary was marked in Minnesota on July 17 and 18, when Crown Prince Gustaf Adolph visited the Twin Cities. The principal celebration took place at the state fair grounds in St. Paul on the afternoon on July 17, when the crown prince addressed an audience of about sixty thousand people. Special exhibits of books, newspapers, and manuscripts relating to the history of the Swedes in the Northwest were placed on display in Twin City libraries, including that of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The fiftieth anniversary of the law school of the University of Minnesota was the occasion for the publication of a survey of its history in *Minnesota Chats*, a university publication, for June 9. The school was opened in the fall of 1888 with sixty-seven students registered. In the same issue of *Minnesota Chats* are noted the twenty-fifth anniversaries of the founding of the League of Minnesota Municipalities and of the university extension division, and some information about the history of each is given.

The First Twenty-five Years of the Northwest Experiment Station, Duluth are reviewed by M. J. Thompson in a pamphlet issued by this branch of the University of Minnesota in April, 1938 (12 p.). The writer undertakes "to make a permanent record of facts and pictures dealing with the early history of the institution; to tell the story of the transition of the physical plant from forest to farm and campus; to sketch its contribution to its constituent rural population in the first quarter century of operation." The period covered is from 1913 to 1938.

The Saga of a Commercial Educator is the autobiography of J. R. Brandrup, who has been connected with a Mankato business college since 1891 (142 p.). The author, who prepared this narrative for his children, emigrated from Denmark in 1885 and spent several years on Red River Valley farms near Breckenridge. Eventually he attended a business school in Minneapolis, taught commercial subjects

at Luther Academy in Albert Lea, and helped to open the Northwestern College of Commerce at Mankato, of which he became the owner. In his little book, Mr. Brandrup contributes an unusual chapter to the history of education in the Northwest.

For an essay on "Benevolent Societies in Minnesota," the first prize in an annual contest conducted at Hamline University was awarded this year to John A. Johnson. He includes comments on early benevolent societies in the state and on legislation regulating them. His essay appears in the April issue of the *Hamline Piper*.

Dr. Richard Bardon's "Survey of Pioneer Members of the St. Louis County Medical Society" is published in the April and May numbers of *Minnesota Medicine* as part of the "History of Medicine in Minnesota" which has been appearing in that magazine since January (see *ante*, p. 225). In the May issue also appears the opening installment of Dr. Owen W. Parker's review of "Pioneer Physicians of the Vermilion and Missabe Ranges," which is continued in the June number.

Under the title "There Were Four of Us—Or Was It Five?" the "memoirs of the late Thomas D. O'Brien, St. Paul lawyer, jurist and distinguished citizen," appear in installments in the *St. Paul Dispatch* from April 11 to May 12. He includes in his reminiscent narrative memories of his father, Dillon O'Brien, and of his three brothers, John D., Dr. Harry, and Christopher D. O'Brien. Judge O'Brien's valuable record of pioneer life at La Pointe and Litchfield in the sixties and at St. Paul after 1874 is now available in book form. A review of the volume will appear in a future issue of this magazine.

The contributions to Minnesota horticulture of D. A. Robertson, L. M. Ford, Jonathan T. Grimes, Peter Gideon, and others are stressed by H. L. Harris in a short article on "Apples in State History," which appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 22. Colonel Robertson, according to Mr. Harris, "was instrumental in organizing a Legislative Farmers Club which at two of its weekly meetings in February, 1860, discussed the question, 'Can Minnesota Grow Apples?'" He proved that it could in 1864, when "he planted a large demonstration orchard, located near what is now

Summit and Snelling avenues in St. Paul." Mr. Harris asserts that Minnesota "had the first state-owned fruit breeding experiment station in the country."

"The oldest wood pulp manufacturer in the Arrowhead country is the Northwest Paper company of Cloquet and Brainerd, founded in 1898 as a ground wood pulp and newsprint mill," according to Hanford F. Cox, who contributes an account of the "Wood Pulp Industry in Minnesota" to the *Daily Journal* of International Falls for April 8. This survey of the past, present, and future of an important Minnesota industry was originally prepared as a radio address.

A chain of men's clothing stores known as the Leuthold-St. Clair stores is the subject of a historical sketch in the *Spring Valley Tribune* for May 12. According to this account, the first of these stores was founded at Kasson by Jacob Leuthold, a Swiss pioneer, in May, 1878, and others were established at Spring Valley, Kenyon, Waseca, Owatonna, and in communities in Iowa and Wisconsin in the years that followed. A list of these stores, with the dates of their founding, appears with the article.

A study of *Population Trends in Minnesota and What They Mean* has been published by the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research as number 8 of the *State Governmental Research Bulletins* (1938. 36 p.). By means of charts and maps the increase or decrease of population in Minnesota counties from 1920 to 1930, the migration of people into or out of Minnesota, and similar trends are graphically illustrated.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The old Hubbard mansion in Mankato has been purchased by the Blue Earth County Historical Society, which turned over the deed to the city with the understanding that the house would be maintained as a museum for the society. Early in June, Mr. Horace W. Roberts, president of the society, appointed a committee on archives and manuscripts to supervise the display of the society's collections in the new museum. At its April meeting, the society received from the Art History Club of Mankato a gift of twenty-five dollars to be used for some project to be designated by the club.

Judge Julius E. Haycraft of Fairmont, Dr. Theodore C. Blegen of the Minnesota Historical Society, and Mayor Albert D. Flor of New Ulm were among the speakers at a dinner meeting of the Brown County Historical Society on April 20, which was attended by more than three hundred and fifty people. All joined in praising the work accomplished by the local society under the leadership of Mr. Fred W. Johnson, its president. Mr. Flor told how New Ulm obtained the handsome new library and museum building in which are housed the "priceless historical data collected and compiled by Mr. Johnson," Judge Haycraft reviewed the story of Minnesota's winning of statehood, and Mr. Blegen described the objectives and achievements of community historical organization in Minnesota. Mr. Johnson presided and responded to the addresses, reviewing the development of the Brown County society.

The museum of the Chippewa Region Historical Society at Cass Lake has been reopened in the local armory, with Mr. F. T. Gustavson as curator. Plans are under way at Cass Lake for the building of a log cabin in which the society's museum, manuscript, and library collections can be adequately housed.

"During housecleaning time, housewives are urged to call the Society before discarding any articles." This appeal is published by the Chippewa County Historical Society in the *Montevideo News* for April 29. It appears in an article describing the museum collection of the local society and some of its recent exhibits. On the evenings of June 22 and 24 the museum rooms were open, and a special invitation to view the exhibits was extended to the people of Clara City.

Miss Ella Hawkinson of the Moorhead State Teachers College was re-elected president of the Clay County Historical Society at a meeting held at Moorhead on May 28. Mr. A. W. Bowman was named vice-president, Mrs. S. E. Rice, secretary, and Mr. S. G. Bridges, treasurer. Plans for enlarging the society's museum were discussed at the meeting.

The Cook County Historical Society and the Thunder Bay Historical Society held a joint meeting at Grand Portage on June 12. Among those who participated in the program were the presidents of

the organizations, the Reverend E. F. Lindquist and Mr. Carson F. Piper.

"The Goodhue County Historical Society is doing splendid work in preserving for the future the traditions, history and reminders and relics in a multitude of interesting forms," reads an editorial in the *Red Wing Daily Republican* for May 23. Since a room in the new courthouse was made available for the use of the society, "enthusiasm for the work has increased and the valuable collection of documents and other reminders of days gone by has accumulated." The writer suggests the need of following library models in organizing and conducting the institution for community service.

The Grant County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held at Elbow Lake on May 28. Mr. C. H. Phinney of Herman was named president; Dr. F. W. Powers of Barrett, vice-president; Mr. W. H. Goetzinger of Elbow Lake, secretary; and Mrs. J. H. Johnson of Elbow Lake, treasurer. The county commissioners will be asked to provide quarters for the society. For the present, items presented to the new organization will be housed in the Elbow Lake library.

The Hennepin County Historical Society has established temporary headquarters in the Oak Hill School at St. Louis Park, with Mr. Edward A. Blomfield in charge. Articles for display in a museum which the society plans to establish are being assembled at this place. The officers of the society, which was recently reorganized, are Mr. Robert E. Scott, county superintendent of schools, St. Louis Park, president; Mr. Dana F. Frear, Lake Minnetonka, vice-president; Miss Ruth Thompson, Minneapolis, secretary; and Mr. Jefferson Jones, Hopkins, treasurer.

The story of a "Vanished Industry" in Morrison County is recalled by Mr. Val E. Kasperek of the local historical society in the *Little Falls Herald* for May 6. He presents an account of logging and lumbering in the district, giving special attention to the lumber companies that have operated in the county. In the *Herald* for June 3, the same writer describes, under the title "Morrison County Pioneers," some of the characteristics of frontier life in the region. He includes a list of "Early Settlers or Homesteaders" from 1847 to 1864.

The feasibility of erecting a building for the use of the Murray County Historical Society was discussed at a meeting held at Slayton on May 16. A committee was appointed to visit communities having historical museums and to formulate suggestions for a local structure.

The need for suitable quarters in which to house its collections is being stressed by the Nobles County Historical Society, according to an article in the *Worthington Globe* for May 17. Some of the items recently presented to the society are listed, and the fact that they cannot be displayed is noted.

A monument marking the site of Leaf City was unveiled at the summer meeting of the Otter Tail County Historical Society, which was held at Leaf Lake on June 26. The monument—a gift to the society from the Westlund Monument Company of Fergus Falls—bears the following inscription: ["Leaf City. Trading post on the Red River Trail in 1857 and United States Post Office 1857 to 1860. The settlement was broken up by the Sioux outbreak of 1862. Dedicated by Otter Tail County Historical Society, June 26, 1938."] Among the speakers participating in the program were Judge Anton Thompson, president of the society, who presided and dedicated the monument; the Reverend James Mohm, who spoke on the early history of Maine Township; and Mrs. Rhoda Hunter, who presented a reminiscent account of her experiences as the wife of a pioneer Otter Tail County farmer. Mrs. Hunter's paper appears in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* of June 27.

With the aid of a local WPA project, the Pope County Historical Society is assembling biographies of pioneers, translating records of pioneer Norwegian settlement in the county, gathering information about the Red River and Wadsworth trails in the vicinity, and making a survey of Indian mounds, village sites, and burial grounds in the county. In the vicinity of Glenwood, more than thirty mounds have been located, according to an announcement in the *Pope County Tribune* for May 19.

"It will be a bad day for historians when country correspondents cease their work" of contributing items to local newspapers said Professor Albert Britt of Carleton College in an address on "History Begins at Home" presented at a meeting of the Rice County Historical Society at Northfield on May 23. Dr. Britt declared that the

columns written by local correspondents "reveal more of the intimate life of the people than do the headlined leads." "The little items are what reveal the humanness of the past," he said. At the same meeting, early Episcopal missions and missionaries in Rice County were discussed by Mr. F. E. Jenkins, headmaster of St. James School, Faribault.

At a meeting of the Roseau County Historical Society at Roseau on June 10, Mr. C. B. Dahlquist was elected president, Mr. G. J. Brenden, vice-president, Mr. J. Snustad, secretary, and Mr. Carl Listug, treasurer.

A number of tools used in pioneer days, pictures, and other articles illustrative of frontier life, from a collection of the Stearns County Historical Society, were placed on display in a store window at Albany late in April. The *Albany Enterprise* of April 21 called attention to the exhibit and asked people of the community who own items of historical interest to present them to the society.

Books, manuscripts, and museum objects assembled by the Waseca County Historical Society are being stored in a vault in the basement of the courthouse until permanent quarters are made available for the organization. Mr. Dana Wobschall was named custodian of the society's collections at a meeting held at Waseca on April 2.

A program centering about the history of St. James was presented before the Watonwan County Historical Society, meeting in St. James, on April 5. A collection of pictures of pioneer settlers and of early scenes and buildings in St. James was displayed at the meeting. The program included papers on the "Early History of St. James" by J. E. Setrum, on the "Newspapers of St. James" by Mrs. Will Curtis, on the public schools of the community by Carl Bishop, and on the local Methodist, Episcopal, Catholic, Presbyterian, Augustana Lutheran, and Norwegian Lutheran churches. All the officers of the society — Mr. George Hage, president, Mrs. Curtis, vice-president, Mr. Setrum, secretary, and Mr. E. C. Farmer, treasurer — were re-elected. Mrs. Curtis' account of local newspaper history appears in the *Watonwan County Plaindealer* of St. James for April 7, and the papers prepared by Mr. Setrum and Mr. Bishop are published in the issues of the same newspaper for April 14 and 21.

The *Gazette-Telegram* of Breckenridge is contributing a valuable service to the Wilkin County Historical Society by publishing from time to time lists of recent accessions with the names of the donors. Judging from the long and interesting lists of items of historical significance that appear in the issues for April 21, May 12, and June 9, the society must be accumulating a museum collection of unusual interest and value. Appeals for additional contributions and invitations to view the society's exhibits usually appear with the announcements of accessions.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

Residents of Marine have devoted much time and energy during the past summer to celebrating the centennial of their community. A "Centennial House," furnished in the style of the fifties of the last century, was opened to the public on June 1. Most of the furnishings, including floor coverings and curtains, were made in the century-old town or were taken there at an early date. The corner cabinets in the living room, for example, are the work of a local cabinet-maker, as are some of the chests and beds. Woven carpets of raw wool that cover many of the floors were made in the homes of Swedish pioneers. The kitchen stove was cast in the early fifties and was taken to Marine by steamboat. Implements used in carding, spinning, and weaving wool are on display in the basement. The spacious "Centennial House" is typical of the homes occupied by prosperous Minnesota pioneers after they had established themselves in the West. A home of the type built by pioneer farmers during the first years of settlement also is to be seen in Marine. This is a two-room log cabin, originally erected on a farm about a mile from the village. It has been removed to the main street, where it has been partially restored and furnished. Open for inspection also during the celebration is a stone building erected in 1872 and used as a town hall and jail. It now houses a collection of photographs of old Marine and its pioneer inhabitants. The centennial exhibits at Marine will be open to the public until October 1. A special community celebration, in which the pioneer settlers still living in the community were honored, took place from July 2 to 4. A feature of the celebration was a parade on July 4, consisting of floats and marching groups each representing an event in the history of the village.

The history of the Carr Lake Farmers Club of Beltrami County, which was read by Walt Fenske on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary, is published in the *Bemidji Daily Pioneer* for June 15. The officers of the club are listed and some of the co-operative enterprises in which it has participated are noted.

A valuable record of local activity during fifty years is to be found in the "Golden Anniversary" edition of the *Blue Earth County Enterprise*, published on June 2. The paper was established on June 1, 1888, by the late Herbert C. Hotaling, and much biographical information about this prominent Minnesota journalist is to be found in the issue, which was planned as a tribute to his memory. Among the interesting items included in the issue is a list of the original subscribers of the *Enterprise*, taken from Hotaling's record book.

The text of the constitution of the Carlton County Agricultural Society, which was organized in 1872, is included by James Dunphy in the installment for April 7 of his autobiographical narrative, "Reminiscing through My Years in Carlton County," which has been appearing in the *Carlton County Vidette*. The final installment appears in the issue of April 21.

Descendants of the Scotch settlers who established homes in Pilot Grove Township, Faribault County, in the late fifties, met on June 17 at Blue Earth to commemorate the eightieth anniversary of the arrival of their ancestors in the vicinity. An account of the westward journey of David Ogilvie, one of the settlers, from a settlement in eastern Wisconsin appears in the *Blue Earth Post* of June 16.

Early Grange organizations in Freeborn County are the subject of an article by W. E. Thompson in the *Albert Lea Evening Tribune* for April 14. The officers of the first Grange established in the county, that organized in Alden Township in March, 1873, and of many later Granges are listed. An account is included of a picnic held by members of the organization in 1882 at which papers on "Onion Culture," "Potato Culture," and "Market Gardening" were presented.

In a pageant entitled "Red Wing's Heritage," the history of the Mississippi River city was reviewed and its centennial was commemorated on June 23, 24, and 25. Among the scenes depicted were the

lodge of the Sioux chief for whom the city is named, the arrival of the first missionaries, the first election, the coming of the railroad, and the community's participation in the Civil War. Special illustrated centennial editions of the *Red Wing Daily Republican* and the *Red Wing Daily Eagle*, issued on June 21, contain articles on explorers and missionaries who visited the site of the present city, and a chronological list of important events in the history of Red Wing from 1853 to 1910.

"The Autobiography of Loren O. Kirk," a Minneapolis architect who was connected with the office of Edwin H. Hewitt from 1906 to 1936, has been issued by his heirs in multigraphed form (1936. 57 p.). Kirk settled in Minneapolis in 1905 and attended the Minneapolis School of Fine Arts. His narrative contains many interesting comments not only about some of the city's leading architects, but about such local artists and sculptors as Robert Koehler and John K. Daniels.

The founding of the Minnetonka Yacht Club in 1882 and the history of yachting on Lake Minnetonka are recalled by Mr. Ward C. Burton in an interview published in the *Minnetonka Herald* of Wayzata for June 16. In the eighties, Mr. Burton records, yachts were known as "sandbaggers," from "the fact that the crew used sandbags as shifting ballast. The average sandbagger has about a 20 ft. over all length, was 10 ft. wide, and carried 1000 sq. ft. of sail."

An appeal to the people of Kanabec County to preserve "photographs, handwritten manuscripts, tools, utensils, handmade articles," and the like, that are "of no particular value now," but "will be considered priceless mementos one hundred years from now" is made by S. B. Molander in the final installment of a narrative entitled "When Kanabec County Was Young," in the *Kanabec County Progressive* of Mora for April 14 (see *ante*, 18:340).

Much of the space in a "Golden Jubilee" edition of the *Raymond News*, issued on June 10, is devoted to a review of "When Raymond Was Young in 1888: A History of the Community" by Henry E. Day. Installments of this narrative began to appear in the *News* in March and continued through May. They are reprinted in a single issue to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the village,

which was celebrated by the community on June 14 and 15. Appearing in the same number are some reminiscent accounts by pioneers, including William Archie Day of St. Paul and Samuel Latterell of Spokane, and a brief history of the village band by H. C. Feig, Sr.

"The High School at Tracy has launched a very commendable project in seeking to save to posterity some of the historic material of this section that came down from pioneer days" reads an editorial in the *Tracy Headlight-Herald* for April 8. The writer goes on to point out that it is important to provide for the preservation of such material before it is lost or destroyed. In the substantial building occupied by the Tracy High School, records of frontier life in Lyon County and objects used by its pioneer settlers can be placed for safe-keeping. There, also, they can be displayed, in order to "give the new generation and those that will follow a means of visualizing the life of the pioneers."

The lumber industry of the Rum River Valley is recalled in a series of murals that decorate the recently completed town hall of Milaca, which was erected by workers engaged in a WPA project. Figures of a lumberjack and a frontier scout appear on opposite sides of the entrance to the auditorium, and on its walls are scenes depicting the exterior and interior of an early sawmill, the felling of timber, the movement of logs to the river, and a log drive moving downstream. The murals were designed and executed by Andre Boratko of the WPA federal art project.

The Nelson-Moen Family of the Town of Tumuli, Otter Tail County, Minnesota, is the subject of a little pamphlet prepared by Bersvend J. Blikstad following a reunion of some two hundred members of this family at Ten Mile Lake Lutheran Church on June 20, 1937 (1938. 24 p.). He describes the Norwegian background of the Nelson family in the parish of Tynset, and presents sketches of the five brothers who left that place to settle in frontier Minnesota.

Brief histories of commercial organizations of the West Side district of St. Paul appear in a fiftieth anniversary edition of the *West Saint Paul Times*, published on April 2. Accounts of local churches and sketches of pioneer residents also are included, and the opening page of the first issue of the paper, published on January 1, 1887, is reproduced in facsimile.

A paper on "Faribault, Minnesota" was presented by Leonard S. Wilson at a meeting of the Association of American Geographers at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in December, 1937. An abstract of the paper, which dealt with the geography of the Big Woods area, its exploration by white men, the beginning of settlement at Faribault, and its development as one of the typical "smaller county seats" of the Northwest, appears in the *Annals* of the association for March.

The founding of Bishop Seabury University at Faribault eighty years ago is recalled in the *Faribault Daily News* for April 26. Attention is called to the fact that from the institution established in 1858, Shattuck School has developed. The history of "Student Publications" at this school, from 1876 to the present, is reviewed in the *Shattuck Spectator* for May 25.

A detailed description of Elk River in the seventies is contributed by J. W. Featherston to the *Sherburne County Star News* of June 16. The author settled in Elk River in 1874, and he pictures for his readers the buildings, business houses, and industries that existed in the community at that time.



